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'DEATH'

CARVED IN MAHOGANY BY GREGORY MALOBA.
ABOUT THREE FEET HIGH

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

MODERN AFRICAN ART IN EAST AFRICA. *By Mrs. K. M. Trowell, M.B.E. Communicated to the Royal Anthropological Institute. 18 December, 1945. Plate and Illustrations*

I would like to share with you what seems to me to be a most exciting adventure in the birth and development of a people's art. Whether one can ever make a conscious laboratory experiment of this kind which will be lasting, whether an art which is sincere and which will become the basis of a widespread school of national or racial painting and sculpture can be stimulated from the outside by a foreigner I do not know, but in Makerere College, Uganda, we have been given conditions which should enable us to make an experiment of great value which, I believe, will prove lasting.

Makerere College is, as you doubtless know, the coming University of East Africa. It is situated in Uganda, but it draws its student population from as far south as Northern Rhodesia, and from as far north as the Southern Sudan, and we have representatives of every African racial group in the territories between these limits.

Credit for first drawing attention to the possibilities of painting among the Baganda must be given to Miss Fisher, of the Church Missionary Society, who was teaching in a girls' school near Kampala some ten years ago, shortly before I began to work along somewhat similar lines with the students of Makerere. I am now hoping to start training full-time African specialist art-masters and have one student already trained to earn his living as a book illustrator. Similar work has of course been carried a further stage on the Gold Coast, where Mr. Meyerowitz' untimely death is an enormous loss, and by Mr. Murray in Nigeria.

Let us first consider what artistic background we have to build on with these students. I can only speak with first-hand knowledge of Kenya and Uganda; my knowledge of the crafts of the tribes of the Southern



FIG. 1.—'THE HUNTER': CARVED IN MAHOGANY BY GREGORY MALOBA. ABOUT THREE FEET LONG

Sudan and of Tanganyika is incomplete, while what I know of the further territories is extremely sketchy, but as the bulk of our students come from Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika I shall not, I hope, be giving a false impression of the situation. I am leaving out of consideration the entirely different culture due to Arab influence in Zanzibar and on the coast.

Of representational art there was in East Africa almost nothing. I can think of only three or four exceptions. The Wakamba and the Wachagga of Kenya and Tanganyika and, I believe, one or two other tribes from Tanganyika carve small wooden figures, but to-day these are entirely commercialized and are probably of recent origin. Representational attempts at lizards, animals, and figures incised on decorated gourds by the Nilotic tribes of Uganda can also be put down to recent school influence, as can figure work in their wall decorations. Two forms of representational art which are probably indigenous are certain stylized wall-paintings found, as far as I can remember, in caves in some parts of Tanganyika,



FIG. 2.—BUILDING A HUT

which are obviously of magico-religious significance, and a few very rare carved wooden masks. We have three of these masks in the Uganda Museum, all from a district in Busoga which was part of the large Lacustrine-Bantu kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara. Rherse reports similar masks among another Lacustrine-Bantu group in north-west Tanganyika, and I have had others reported as seen among the similar Ba-Tusi of Ruanda-Urundi. It is possible that this is a cultural element which has crept in through contact with tribes from farther west.

There remains non-representational art, pattern-work, chiefly of a geometric form, found worked out in almost every type of material. In theory such decoration may be divided into disinterested orna-

mental art, often suggested or inspired by technical processes and indulged in for the sheer delight of rhythm and form; and purposive symbolic art usually of magico-religious origin.

In practice it is quite impossible to make such a distinction for, as Haddon originally pointed out, stylized symbolic art when handed down from generation to generation not only loses all resemblance to the object originally intended, but the significance of the symbol is forgotten and it is used in a purely decorative manner.

The decorative art of the Hima and Tusi well illustrates this point. These people are the two Lacustrine-Bantu tribes in Uganda who have least lost their identity by merging with the agricultural people whom they conquered, keeping them in a position of semi-serfdom. The Hima and Tusi have brought a type of craftsmanship in basketry, ironwork, beadwork, and pottery which is of an extremely high level, and which is highly ornamented with design of an originally symbolic significance. Yet to-day, although most motifs of design have a name which is commonly known among the craftsmen, the significance of the motif can only be interpreted by a few of the older men.

Decorative art, then, whether symbolic or purely æsthetic, is highly regarded among the Lacustrine Bantu and applied to objects of daily use—milkpots, baskets, mats, pots, and so on. Among the original agricultural tribes which they found there I should say it was almost non-existent, and among the Nilotic tribes it finds its expression in personal adornment. The highly decorative feather and hair head-dresses, the leopard-skin or hide cloaks, the masses of beads and metal worn on the neck, arms, and legs, show a tremendous appreciation of decorative values.

The craftsman was a highly regarded personage. Although no definite craftsmen's guilds existed, yet the royal craftsmen in the Lacustrine-Bantu kingdoms had a number of privileges and exemption from taxation which prove this; and yet of the craftsman playing a valuable part in the spiritual life of the community I find disappointingly little. Pick up any book on negro art and you come across such phrases as these: 'Their art is an attempt to symbolize the spirituality behind appearances'—'Negro art is an exercise or activity of the senses, elemental as the primary emotions of love, hate, and fear'—'The primitive artist is the individual who can best interpret or present the mystical world,' and from what I have seen of the arts of other parts of Africa I do not believe that these are overstatements. But when I look round East Africa I cannot honestly say I can find signs of it ever having been so there. The plastic artist never seems to have been called in 'to interpret or present the mystical world': for our



FIG. 3.—'THE GOOD SAMARITAN'

fetishes we were content with natural objects, bits of stick and stone, horns, and shells.

What does this mean? Is the East African lacking in a strong æsthetic sense? If so, is this a permanent characteristic? No, I think we have been looking on art in too narrow a sense, that of the plastic arts alone, and if we had time to consider its wider significance and to include the arts of music, dancing, drama, and ritual, and to remember that in assessing the artistic response of a people we must not only consider the work of the specialist craftsman but the æsthetic or emotional response to life of the ordinary man, we should realize that the instinctive emotional reaction which is the special province of the artist is as strong in the make-up of the East African as in any other part of the continent. If that be so, here is as important and rich a field for exploration along these lines as any other.

Against this background we must now set our

modern young African. We have come to the conclusion that in his past the æsthetic or emotional instincts were probably as important as in any other man, but that for some unknown reason they never found a high degree of expression in plastic art.

Now we pass on to note an interesting phenomenon which is closely connected. Neither in the old world nor in the new are the plastic arts linked to the service of religion. In the old world sticks and stone rather than man-made fetishes were the homes of the spirits, and in the modern world the Roman church imported ready-made foreign representations of religious subjects with ready-made foreign liturgy and ritual; while the Protestant church, reacting to what it saw of native dancing and other forms of æsthetic activity in a way which was only natural to the puritanical or Victorian outlook of the day, practically forbade any indigenous artistic form of expression at all.

There has always been controversy among the art

critics as to the value of the relationship of art and religion, but I believe that beauty as well as goodness and truth is the servant of true religion and that the value of a work of art is determined by the artist's attitude and motives. As Wilenski says, 'I am yet to be convinced by æsthetic critics who tell me that the savage carving an image to scare the devil or bring down rain is engaged in the same kind of activity as the sculptor who looks at a woman who attracts him and makes a statement of her form's attractiveness . . . or that Fra Angelico painting a pink, blue, and gold paradise on his knees was doing the same thing as the young lady who paints a pink, blue, and gold picture because she thinks pink, blue, and gold are pretty colours and because she wants to paint pictures that look rather like Italian paintings of the early Renaissance.'



FIG. 4.—'THE MEDICAL EXAMINATION'

This does not mean that all religious art is better than all secular art—far from it. Religious and secular art alike are only of value when they are sincere, and it is often far more difficult for an artist to produce sincere works of religious art than to produce sincere works of purely secular subjects. But I do believe that if the plastic arts in East Africa had been the servants either of the old religious cults or of Christianity they would have had a deeper significance in African life.

But they have not been given that justification, nor were they given any place of honour in the modern educational world. This was quite intelligible. The rapid development of the African to take his place in the modern world has meant concentration on the purely utilitarian school-subjects, and one cannot blame the overworked, underpaid, and understaffed mission schools, who coped so magnificently with education, if they cut out art altogether as a luxury,

or allocated the teaching of drawing to non-specialists who had neither the time nor the understanding to develop the æsthetic sensibility of their pupils.

The battle for the modern approach to the teaching of art was begun more than twenty years ago in England; we are still at its beginnings in Africa, and the old conservative obstructionist attitude still holds good among some educationalists, who have been cut off from the flow of modern educational thought. Yet at the same time the need for a considered policy in the development of art and music in Africa is recognized and supported strongly by many educational authorities, who realize the dangers of an educational system that stresses the absorption of knowledge rather than the development of original creative energy; and who are distressed by the African's attitude towards education as a means to a higher wage rather than a doorway to a wider life.

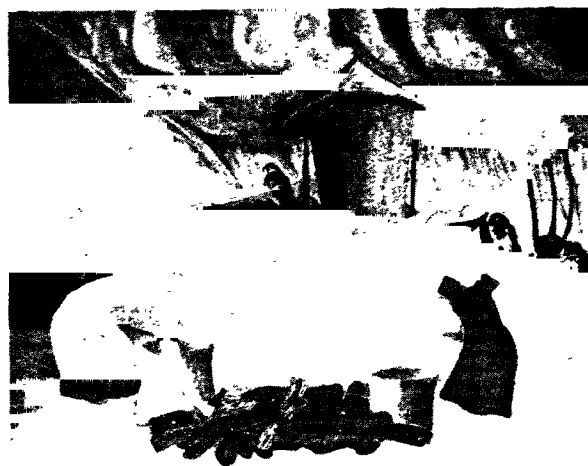


FIG. 5.—'THE STORM'

Two other aspects seem to me to need more stress. One is the deep psychological need of the African to exercise his emotional and instinctive faculties through the practice of the arts, an aspect of development which is acknowledged in every stage of civilization but which would seem to be of special urgency in the transition of the African from the old primitive instinctual response to life to the new intellectual and rational approach. The other aspect is that every culture worthy of the name has developed its own particular and peculiar art, differing from the art of other ages and civilizations although conforming to recognized æsthetic values, so that if we believe in the capacity of the African to produce a civilized culture of his own he must be given every encouragement to develop the arts in his own way.

The educated young African's attitude to the place of art in life is what might be expected. He regards any interest in the old indigenous crafts with deep

suspicion as an attempt to keep him down to the old levels, and he has come to believe that art has no place of value in modern education, 'because as far as he can see it leads him nowhere. The 'fresher' at Makerere is distinctly puzzled when he finds that art is a compulsory subject during the first year course for the Higher Arts Diploma, and that he may take it in his final exam, either as a major or minor subject on a par with English, Geography, Mathematics, etc., and that there are even students taking a full-time art course. There will probably be petitions against this compulsion during the first year, but when the compulsion is removed at the beginning of the second year 65 per cent. will elect to keep it on—therein lies my justification.

Now let us see what we can learn of the young African of to-day from his painting. Our first group is the childlike or journalistic descriptive painting:



FIG 6 — 'EVENING SCENE'

these are always fresh and delightful, whether they are produced by the sophisticated or unsophisticated. Such narrative descriptive painting usually shows a wealth of well observed and remembered detail. Last year I was working in the museum on native methods of trapping animals and made a collection from various sources, chiefly unsophisticated, of descriptive drawings showing clearly the working of a number of ingenious traps and springs. Often such pictures are made as a child tells a story, adding detail to detail, or as a mediæval painter produced a map-like picture into which many scenes and events were crowded. These two paintings, one of hut building (fig. 2) and the other the story of the Good Samaritan (fig. 3) are both by college students sufficiently sophisticated in the latter case to divide the narrative into four separate episodes and in the former to paint

one incident from one viewpoint only, but they give us a very fresh and lively insight into life as they see it.

When the African does discover how to represent a scene in perspective he almost always draws as though he was observing his subject from high above it. Another fact about the African's idea of perspective which I have constantly observed is this. A European artist working in a representational manner regards his picture as a vertical plane parallel with his eyes. He reduces the size of objects represented as being at a distance in front of him, but takes no account of their distance to the left or right. The African, on the other hand, mentally takes his stand in the centre of an arc of a circle when he paints, and makes huts or other large objects conceived as at a distance on either side of him as small as objects at a distance in front, so that often the corners in the foreground of his picture are filled with large objects drawn to a small scale: this is done consciously, and he will argue the logic of his convention—for logical it is. I have never met this in European child-art, and I should be interested to hear if others have observed it in primitive art from other parts of the world.

The African loves a joke: his humour is different from ours—much of it we cannot understand, much of it is of the simple slapstick variety where Charlie Chaplin slips up on a banana skin. But this sense of humour goes alongside a very shrewd judgment of character, as knowledge of the nicknames given to Europeans will reveal. One of the most amusing afternoons I have spent at Makerere started off by ranging my students in a row and asking them to point out the comic characteristics of each other's faces. We followed this with a discussion of facial types, and ended by each student drawing a caricature, not necessarily flattering, or even polite, of the District Commissioner of his home district. I still treasure some of these drawings.

I had one student who was accounted 'bolshy' and difficult to manage by the rest of the staff. I always knew when things had been difficult for him, for he came and painted away in a corner of the studio with the same impulsive energy with which others might let off steam by digging in the garden. Technique never bothered him: he said what he wanted without fussing about the niceties of conventional drawing, consequently he said it with a sincerity and vigour, an assurance and humorous dash which could not be surpassed. It is almost as difficult to form an unbiased judgment of one's students' work as of one's own, but I have a feeling that from many points of view Mkumbya was one of the best painters we have yet produced. My own favourite is *The Medical Examination* (fig. 4). See the shivering recruits nervously edging past the native policeman, and their elation



FIG. 7.—'THE FIRE'

as, having been passed fit, they don their uniform and march off. There is a lot more to that picture than you would think at first glance. The arrangement is remarkably successful: it is not easy to fit so much into such a comparatively small space. It needs real technical mastery to slap on your paint and produce such definite characterization, and beneath his broad humour is a subtle sense of form. That back shows a great feeling for form.

It has often been said, and I have said it myself, that the African has no appreciation of natural beauty, that once you have released him from animistic fears the world is his cabbage patch and a very prosaic cabbage patch at that. I think we must say that many Africans have as deep a response to nature as poets and artists of other races. Look at the picture of *The Storm* (fig. 5). In this one the moment before



FIG. 8.—'A GROUP'

the storm arrives is depicted. Here it comes behind the hut, a roaring wind bending all before it, purple, black, and sinister. In the foreground the sun is still shining with that hard cold light which is such a vivid contrast to the blackness beyond, and the women rush out to gather in the drying maize cobs. The painter has seized the drama of the approaching storm, and the sense of eeriness which it brings.

In contrast to *The Storm*, *Evening Scene*, by the painter of the first one, is not nearly such a good picture, almost commonplace in its treatment, but yet with a sense of atmosphere (fig. 6).

I have carefully chosen the order in which to discuss the values which I find in African painting, starting with these most obvious and easy to pick out, which we might term the objective values. The straightforward narrative reporting of events, the humorous observation of life, the feeling for the moods of nature—but at each step we find qualities which are

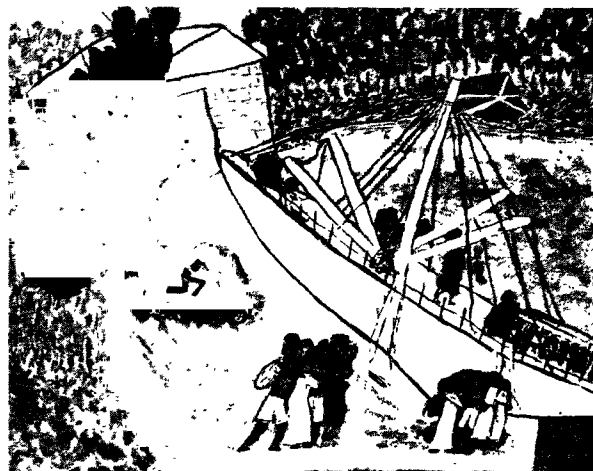


FIG. 9.—'THE SHIP'

deeper and more difficult to define. Our humorist is more than a comic narrator, the storm paintings are subjective as well as objective, they go beyond superficial appearances.

In the next group I think the deeper levels are more clearly seen. What I want to demonstrate here is the African's ability to represent the essential vitality and intensity of his subject. In the painting *The Fire* (fig. 7) the effect is obtained by theatrical methods, the violent contrast of the two complementary colours, blue and orange, but it is saved from cheapness by the lovely passages of red and brown below. Large mahogany carvings some three feet long or high by Gregory Maloba, once a student of mine and now my senior assistant instructor, are shown in Plate A and fig. 1. Before he started work on *Death* he told me he wished to convey the idea that 'Death' was not unkind but inscrutable; and when you stand

before that solid impassive figure, crushing the writhing little man beneath his giant hands, with an expression almost of pity on the Buddha-like face, you are amazed at the sensibility of the carver. Maloba was only a youngster of nineteen when he carved this. *The Hunter* (fig. 1), depicted as crawling silently forward through the bush, has the same intensity of feeling. Here the intentional throwing of the head into the same plane as the back—an anatomical impossibility—gives the stream-line effect and the sense of concentration.

Finally, that most difficult yet to the artist all-important value—the formal relationship of line and mass, colour and tone, the purely æsthetic aspect apart from the content of the work. When presented with a log of wood or lump of clay the African instinctively knows how to handle it, he understands their essential solidity and does not attempt to distort them into unsuitable forms. Or perhaps it is that wood and clay are the media best fitted to his conception of life in all its massive solidity. Where colour is concerned, solidity is again the keyword. Some Africans paint with delicacy and refinement, but for the most part when they attempt to use water colour in the classical transparent way the result is lifeless and anæmic.

They very quickly seem to grasp the value of tone as apart from local colour, so that even in monotone their work comes out well. They are individual in their choice of colour, and just because they have often not used it before coming to college they are delighted to experiment. This student's handling of colour is always exciting; both he and Mkumbya, the

humorist, get their effects by the actual technique with which they put the paint on the paper. The heavy powder-paint somehow achieves the quality of a fine-patterned Persian painting.

In Lugolobi's work the sense of formal pattern was strong and the content of the picture was always subjected to it. A feeling after rhythmic repetition was noticeable in Okello's work, although he often spoilt it, as in fig. 8, by the insertion of the figure.

It would be hard to say why *The Ship* (fig. 9) is more formally satisfying than almost any of the others, wild though it may be in its representation of perspective. This one is suggestive of Cézanne, whose work, of course, the student had never heard of.

I fear you will feel that to me all my ducklings are swans. But I am not blind to the crudities and weaknesses of these paintings. I think they must be judged not perhaps as primitive art, for their creators are no longer primitive people, but somewhat in the light of child art. Most of these students have to learn on arrival even such elementary technical facts as that yellow and blue make green, and that the addition of water makes the paint lighter; and each year I see them going through all the recognized stages of child art. Some will never rise beyond the logical rather than the visualized build-up of the human figure and will contentedly place one or even two full-faced eyes in the profile of a head. Some advance with rapid strides, some develop slowly. But wherever their art may have arrived at present I feel it holds a promise for the future, a promise of something which is strong and individual, which is African, and that is what really matters.

RECHERCHES ET MUSÉES D'ETHNOGRAPHIE FRANÇAISE DEPUIS 1939. *Communicated by Georges Henri Rivière, Conservateur du Musée des arts et traditions populaires, to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 17 April, 1946*

2 i. Nous définissons *l'ethnographie* comme la science des comportements humains : techniques, économiques, sociaux, idéologiques, esthétiques. Selon la terminologie du Professeur Rivet, qui fait de l'ethnographie, auprès de l'anthropologie (physique) et de la linguistique, une branche de l'ethnologie.

ii. Notre domaine particulier est *l'ethnographie française*,¹ c'est-à-dire celle de la France continentale dans ses actuelles frontières politiques. Domaine d'une grande diversité dans ses éléments traditionnels, par sa culture matérielle, ses structures économiques et sociales, ses coutumes, ses dialectes; et dans lequel

on distingue, sans préjudice d'aires de retraite culturelle dans les massifs montagneux et de la complexité culturelle de certaines régions périphériques, les survivances encore caractérisées par des pentes de toit, des dialectes, des formes juridiques, des structures agraires, etc., de deux types très anciens de civilisation, l'un du nord, l'autre du midi : domaine dont l'unification culturelle dès longtemps entreprise par les facteurs économiques et politiques, va sans cesse croissant.

iii. Alors que la principale institution officielle de l'ethnologie générale, le Musée de l'Homme, relève du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, le Musée et la Chaire d'histoire des arts et traditions populaires et le Laboratoire d'ethnographie française relèvent de la direction des Musées de France.

Une telle appartenance a été choisie par nous en accord avec le Professeur Rivet, en considération du

¹ Nous avons préféré cette dénomination à celle de 'folklore français' tant pour marquer notre allégeance à l'ethnographie générale que pour éviter à nos institutions de recherche et de muséographie d'être confondues avec celles du 'folklore,' synonyme en France de l'action folklorique.

fait que la France est un pays de très vieille civilisation pour l'étude de laquelle l'abondance des monuments écrits nécessite une étroite collaboration de l'ethnographie avec les disciplines proprement historiques dont l'expression muséographique relève des Musées de France quitte à nous tenir en liaison de façon constante avec l'ethnographie générale par les commissions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, la commission des Musées de province, l'orientation d'étudiants d'ethnographie française vers l'Institut d'ethnologie, les sociétés savantes, les congrès, les contacts personnels, etc., et à demander le concours des organismes anthropologiques et linguistiques si les besoins de nos recherches viennent à l'exiger. Il est utile de noter à cette occasion que l'imbrication de l'histoire et de l'ethnographie locales est réalisée dans des centaines de musées de province.

iv Nous n'entendons pas apporter de restriction de principe dans le temps comme dans l'espace social, au domaine de l'ethnographie française. Seules des considérations d'urgence, dictées par la dégradation sans cesse accélérée des éléments prémachinistes et dits 'populaires' de notre civilisation et la spécialisation des recherches nous font actuellement reporter sur ces éléments le plus gros de nos efforts ; sans perdre une occasion de les situer dans un complexe culturel plus étendu et de les raccorder aux éléments modernes de l'évolution.

v. Le Musée des arts et traditions populaires, fondé en 1937, est provisoirement installé au Palais de Chaillot : l'installation de ses galeries d'exposition n'a pu être réalisé du fait de la guerre ; ses collections et sa documentation scientifiquement exploitée par son Laboratoire d'ethnographie française dirigé par mon adjoint M. Marcel Maget, servent de base à l'enseignement de l'histoire des arts et traditions populaires professé à l'École du Louvre par le Conservateur et son adjoint.

2. RECHERCHES D'ETHNOGRAPHIE FRANÇAISE DEPUIS 1939

Allégé par les circonstances (dès août 1939) de ses tâches d'exposition muséographique, le Musée a voulu concentrer tous ses efforts durant la guerre sur les recherches d'ethnographie française, ce qui lui a permis d'observer *in extremis* sur une grande échelle et selon un plan méthodique, certains aspects archaïques d'une civilisation en pleine transformation.

Nous y sommes parvenus, grâce aux moyens mis à notre disposition par le Centre national de la Recherche scientifique et par un service dit des 'Chantiers intellectuels,' dont l'objectif réel était, plus encore que la lutte contre le chômage, une échappatoire au travail forcé et un asile aux persécutés raciaux et politiques.

Tenant compte des importantes recherches opérées

par nos devanciers, notamment par Van Gennep et son école, sur les traditions orales et sociales, nous avons réservé nos préférences au domaine jusque là systématiquement non exploité, de la civilisation matérielle, sans néanmoins jamais perdre de vue certaines tâches urgentes et en général les interactions du complexe culturel. Il est juste de rendre un éclatant hommage à Vidal de la Blache et à ses successeurs pour leurs travaux sur l'habitation rurale réalisés au point de vue de la géographie humaine.

Nos entreprises les plus importantes ont porté sur l'équipement domestique et l'architecture des classes rurales et sur les techniques artisanales, les deux premières étant principalement réalisées dans le cadre d'une enquête générale et extensive confiée à des équipes de techniciens non ethnographes et la troisième sous la forme d'enquêtes intensives et distinctes confiées à des chercheurs scientifiques, le plus souvent ethnographes.

i. Équipement Domestique

Depuis 1941 vingt et depuis 1942 quarante jeunes gens anciens diplômés d'écoles d'art appliqué, ont été les agents d'une enquête sur l'équipement domestique principalement sur le mobilier : 13.420 meubles ont été étudiés à ce jour dans leur milieu d'origine, localisés dans 87 sur 90 de nos départements : nous avons préféré cette recherche sur le terrain à une compilation bibliographique ou à un dépouillement des archives également importants mais susceptibles d'être ajournés quant au mobilier rural. Nos conclusions provisoires sont les suivantes :

(a) Les définitions des styles régionaux et traditionnels sont à revoir. Exemple : en Bretagne, en Provence et en Normandie qui présentent des variétés très diverses.

(b) Les styles dominants au début du XIX^e siècle sont le géométrique, le Louis XIII et le Louis XV populaires, ce qui met ces trois styles en décalage chronologique avec l'époque des styles inspireurs dont les complexes de motifs géométriques remontent pour le moins au Moyen Age.

(c) Des luttes ont eu lieu entre des formes différentes relatives à des fonctions identiques : armoire contre coffre, lit ouvert contre lit clos, chaise contre banc, table ronde contre table rectangulaire, etc. . . . Cependant que d'autres groupes de meubles ont décliné avec la fonction technique correspondante : tels ceux de la meunerie et de la boulangerie domestique. Entre 1770 et 1800, donc avant, quant aux débuts, la Révolution politique de 1789, de nombreuses formes mobilières ont fait leur entrée dans les modestes classes paysannes, révolution fonctionnelle qu'a suivi, vers 1840, une deuxième révolution concordant avec la révolution industrielle, et marquée par la liquidation presque générale des styles régionaux et

le bouleversement des conditions de fabrication ; cela dans l'attente d'une troisième révolution, celle du mobilier fabriqué en grande série, plus ou moins incorporé dans les futures maisons préfabriquées.

ii. Architecture Rurale

Suscitée en prévision des besoins de la reconstruction, l'enquête sur l'architecture rurale a été réalisée depuis 1941 par 20 et depuis 1942 par quarante jeunes architectes diplômés, cela non pas en vue de pasticher les styles anciens, mais en considérant cette architecture dans ses relations avec le milieu géographique, les conditions de la construction et les fonctions économiques, sociales et idéologiques—position qui a conduit à tenir compte de la structure agraire des exploitations étudiées.

Nos conclusions provisoires ont été les suivantes :

(a) La fixité de la civilisation rurale n'est qu'apparente. En particulier, l'économie rurale évolue plus ou moins vite selon les époques. Mais plus lente est, en fonction de cette économie, l'évolution de l'architecture rurale.

Tout se passe comme si à un moment donné une certaine architecture est la résultante de deux forces contraires, une force d'adaptation aux conditions nouvelles engendrées par l'économie, une force de routine. Le compromis s'affirme par un décalage fonctionnel dans les locaux adaptés² ou même dans les locaux neufs.³

(b) Comme pour le mobilier, il existe un décalage chronologique des styles.

(c) Certains caractères architectoniques plus ou moins indépendants du milieu géographique ont au moins survécu jusqu'à la révolution industrielle : telles la répartition de la pente des toits et des matériaux correspondants de couverture.

(d) On aperçoit dès avant la révolution industrielle de grandes lignes d'évolution : disparition progressive de la cohabitation des humains et des animaux, diminution des fonctions de la salle commune, disparition de la cheminée à foyer central, etc. . . .

(e) Aggravation du décalage fonctionnel du fait de la révolution industrielle.

Actuellement 1,274 monographies d'exploitations caractéristiques ont été étudiées dans 86 départements. En outre, l'expérience technique et humaine acquise par les enquêteurs sur leurs terrains respectifs de recherche a fait souhaiter aux ministères de la Reconstruction et de l'Agriculture (génie rural) la prolongation de l'enquête sous la forme d'un centre de formation professionnelle d'architectes ruraux, la

prolongation a été obtenue, et nous sommes heureux de le porter à la connaissance du Conseil du Congrès international des sciences anthropologiques et ethnologiques, qui a inscrit à son programme les problèmes de l'ethnologie appliquée. La formule que nous avons expérimentée et selon laquelle les recherches ethnographiques les plus urgentes sont confiées à des techniciens non ethnographes mais encadrés par des ethnographes, a permis de réaliser dans les délais nécessaires une recherche importante, non sans donner aux techniciens des connaissances qui leur seront utiles dans l'exercice du métier.

iii. Techniques Artisanales

Les enquêtes sur les techniques artisanales ont été confiées comme nous l'avons dit non plus à des techniciens, mais à des travailleurs scientifiques, géographes, historiens, sociologues, etc. . . . et de préférence ethnographes formés par l'Institut d'ethnologie et l'École du Louvre. Ces enquêtes ont principalement porté sur la poterie et la métallurgie, mais également sur le tissage, les techniques du bois, la vannerie, etc.

A l'étude détaillée des techniques, s'est ajoutée, selon un plan monographique constant, celle des artisans intéressés et de leur milieu économique et social.

L'exemple présenté est celui des ateliers céramiques de St. Jean La Poterie pour lesquels ont été étudiées, avec l'histoire communale des métiers depuis le XVI^e siècle, les matières premières, les lieux de travail, l'outillage, les opérations, le catalogue de la production, le fonctionnement économique et social des entreprises, les coutumes et la langue professionnelle. M. Marcel Maget a mis au point pour ces monographies dont il a tracé le schéma un procédé d'expressions graphiques des gestes de travail en relation avec les divers stades du produit fabriqué.

En général, on constate une regression accélérée et comme inéluctable devant la révolution industrielle, de la plupart de ces techniques artisanales traditionnelles dont il serait utopique d'espérer le maintien par des mesures artificielles.

iv. Recherches Diverses

En plus de ces trois enquêtes, nous signalerons notamment :

(a) Une enquête sur les théâtres populaires de marionnettes, encore très nombreux à Paris, et dont les exploitants sont également adaptateurs ou auteurs du répertoire, auteurs des décors, marionnettes et accessoires machinistes, acteurs et improvisateurs ! Caractères qui permettent d'analyser certains problèmes en relation avec des formes archaïques de l'art dramatique.

² Ainsi des granges trop petites, quant à la polyculture, a succédé la culture intensive des céréales.

³ Telles les maisons en hauteur dans le nouvel habitat dispersé des vignobles languedociens, souvenir des maisons en hauteur des agglomérations anciennes.

(b) Une mission d'étude des chants populaires de Basse Bretagne, lesquels ont été enregistrés graphiquement, phonétiquement et phonographiquement et étudiés en fonction de leur valeur linguistique et sociologique.

(c) Plusieurs missions d'études avec enregistrements phonographiques, etc. . . . de conteurs populaires.

(d) La diffusion systématique dans un grand nombre de départements, à raison au moins d'une commune par canton (ce qui donnera un minimum d'environ 3,000 réponses quand l'enquête sera terminée) d'une liste de 71 questions en prévision d'un atlas ethnographique de la France.

(e) Les premières tentatives en vue de réaliser des monographies globales de groupes humains, ce que nous considérons comme une des tâches essentielles de l'ethnographie. Ex. pour des communes de Sologne et du Plateau de Millevaches, où se poursuivent des expériences systématiques de transformations de l'économie rurale.

À l'occasion des diverses recherches, ont été remis au Musée des arts et traditions populaires et enregistrés dans son laboratoire d'ethnographie française, outre les monographies et autres textes déjà mentionnés, 91,622 clichés photographiques et dessins techniques exécutés sur calque aux fins de diffusion.

3. RENOUVEAU DES MUSÉES D'ETHNOGRAPHIE FRANÇAISE DEPUIS 1945

Depuis la Libération, il n'a pas encore été possible de réaliser l'ouverture du Musée des arts et traditions populaires, les matériaux nécessaires aux aménagements étant réservés à des besoins prioritaires. Les recherches ont été activement poussées par le Laboratoire d'Ethnographie française et son Directeur M. Maget cependant que le Conservateur du Musée apportait auprès de l'Inspecteur général des Musées M. Vergnet-Ruiz sa collaboration à la réorganisation des Musées de province, notamment quant à l'ethnographie française dans le cadre d'une loi nouvelle régissant leur statut, préparée par MM. Jaujard, Directeur général des Arts et Lettres, et Georges Salles, Directeur des Musées de France.

Désormais, les 900 Musées de Province passent sous le contrôle de l'Etat et leurs Conservateurs doivent être choisis dans une liste d'aptitude constituée sur titres par une Commission scientifique : 557 de ces Musées, selon un recensement de juillet 1945, soit détenteurs de fonds d'ethnographie française.

Les principes directeurs de notre action ont été les suivants :

1. Les constructions de Musées risquent d'être assez longtemps différées. Il faut donc mieux utiliser l'espace muséographique existant en constituant

d'importantes réserves et des salles d'expositions temporaires, ce qui permet :

(a) De mettre dans les réserves un grand nombre d'objets jusqu'ici exposés et d'en présenter désormais une sélection par roulement.

(b) D'exposer plus au large selon des partis plus francs, qu'il s'agisse de reconstituer des 'tranches de réalité' ou des présentations par thèmes idéologiques,⁴ cela avec toute la documentation nécessaire.

(c) D'aménager les réserves en fonction de la documentation et de la recherche scientifique, principalement dans les Musées les plus importants qui deviennent des 'Musées-laboratoires' fonctionnant en liaison avec les Universités et le Centre national de la Recherche scientifique.

ii. Il est dressé au fur et à mesure des inspections un plan muséographique de la France⁵ dans lequel chaque Musée se développe selon un programme, en fonction de ses richesses acquises et du potentiel muséographique de la région dans laquelle il se trouve.

Il doit en résulter pour les Musées archéologiques une liaison plus étroite avec les Services des fouilles et des monuments historiques et une coordination avec l'Inspection des Muséums d'histoire naturelle.

Quant aux Musées d'ethnographie régionale, ils sont fréquemment combinés à des expositions de synthèse historique. C'est ainsi que pour la Normandie est créée à Caen un Musée normand où l'histoire synthétique de la Province est associée à des séries spécialisées d'ethnographie ; cependant que dans le Musée local de Coutances, une spécialité particulièrement attractive lui est donnée : partant de la Cathédrale de Coutances, une exposition comparée de l'Architecture Médiévale en Normandie et en Angleterre. Pour la Bretagne, il est envisagé de suggérer à Rennes sur les bases de l'ethnographie celtique de cette province, une exposition comparée du celtique insulaire.

iii. A la politique d'acquisition archéologique d'un matériel scientifiquement fouillé correspond un programme d'urgence en ethnographie française. De toutes parts sur le terrain, au moyen d'instructions définissant les méthodes de travail, des missions d'acquisitions sont confiées à des scientifiques non spécialistes auxquels il est demandé de tenir un journal d'activité et de préparer pour chaque objet récolté une monographie systématique où trouvent place, auprès de la nomination et de la description

⁴ Voir à ce sujet l'article de M. Georges Salles publié dans la *Revue de Paris*.

⁵ Signalons à cette occasion que nous sommes en réaction contre les présentations excessivement dictées par la symétrie statique réalisées dans trop de musées ; nous préférons une symétrie dynamique, assurément de réalisation plus difficile, mais combien plus respectueuse de l'idée de base.

physique, les techniques de fabrication d'entretien, de conservation et d'utilisation, les caractères économiques, sociaux, juridiques, idéologiques et esthétiques, l'histoire du spécimen et du type, la comparaison, les opinions et les références. Un ouvrage de M. Maget est en préparation à ce sujet. C'est ainsi que Dom Miguel de Barandiarán, qui représente dans notre conseil l'ethnologie basque, va recueillir pour le Musée Basque et sous nos auspices une collection d'ethnographie dans la région de Sare (Basses-Pyrénées).

4. CONCLUSION

Après des efforts dus aux institutions officielles, nous nous en voudrions de ne pas mentionner ceux des chercheurs individuels au premier rang desquels il

faut placer M. Arnold Van Gennep, qui a poursuivi durant la guerre, avec la publication de diverses monographies régionales, celle de son monumental Manuel de folklore français contemporain. Cependant que le Professeur Le Bras a continué ses enquêtes sur le folklore religieux. Sans préjudice d'autres travaux que leurs auteurs nous pardonnerons de ne pouvoir, faute de temps, mentionner ici.

En ce qui nous concerne, nous avons conscience d'apporter notre contribution à la science ethnographique; non sans prendre part au renouveau des Musées de France et à leur mission d'éducation populaire et de mise en valeur du patrimoine national à l'usage des visiteurs étrangers auxquels s'ouvre à nouveau notre pays.

PROCEEDINGS OF INSTITUTIONS

Soil Conservation as a Problem of Human Ecology.

3 *Summary of a communication by Dr. G. V. Jacks, Imperial Bureau of Soil Survey, to the Empire Science Congress at Oxford, July, 1946*

Soil conservation is a problem of human ecology—a problem of establishing a stable society in which human beings are the dominants, and the lesser fauna and flora comprise chiefly domesticated animals and cultivated plants. Such man-dominated communities have existed in the past, and exist to-day in equilibrium with their environment over small portions of the earth's surface. Much larger areas are occupied by communities in which man appears as a sort of pseudo-dominant, and which are not in equilibrium with, but are causing the progressive deterioration of, their environment. The problem of soil conservation is to discover, and bring into being, the conditions in which a stable equilibrium can exist between a human society utilizing the land for its maintenance and the external environment. . . . It is axiomatic that where the environment is deteriorating under human occupation, i.e. where soil fertility is running down, there can be no stable equilibrium and a continuation of the process must result if not in elimination, at least in rendering his existence increasingly precarious. . . . A useful, albeit not perfect, criterion of whether a community is adapted to its environment is its state of contentment, which can be judged by its economic prosperity over a period of years or, more accurately, by whether it is able to stand on its own feet under variable economic circumstances. A scheme of land utilization will not succeed unless tangible and lasting social and economic advantages accrue from it. There have been schemes of soil conservation that have been carried through by coercion or with the help of subsidies unsupported by spontaneous

co-operation among the occupiers of the land, but they have not succeeded, or, if they have, the results do not give the impression of permanence or stability. Such schemes are likely to succeed only where the planning authority has sufficient power to treat the human stratum on the same level as the plant strata of the community. In other circumstances the function of the planning authority is mainly to help the people to help themselves. The purpose of describing soil conservation as a problem in human ecology is to suggest that more attention be paid, in future studies of land utilization and soil conservation, to the adaptation of different types of rural community to different types of land. . . . The necessary measures as a whole cannot be fitted into the existing life of the community. Adaptation of the community must go hand in hand with adaptation of land-use practices; indeed, it is questionable whether any distinction should be made between them.

Discussion of this communication emphasized the fact that, in many parts of the world, communities which had been more or less in equilibrium with their environment had been seriously shaken out of their routine in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Production in many places had been temporarily increased, whether at the expense of the future or not is not often clear. An accompaniment of this rapid transition had been a huge increase in population in several regions with resultant local congestion, and the need for many social adjustments. Traditional cropping related to traditional land-tenure and household-organization are now often inadequate to the new circumstances. There seems to be an obvious need for advice from social anthropologists in relevant matters of policy, as to the steps to be taken to effect necessary changes with minimum disturbance and maximum soil conservation.

OBITUARIES

Jack Herbert Driberg: 1888-1946

4 Jack Herbert Driberg, who died on 5 February, 1946, was born in Assam in April, 1888, of a Service family. He was the eldest of three brothers, all of outstanding talent. He was educated at The Grange Preparatory School, Crowborough,

Lancing College, and Hertford College, Oxford. In 1912 he joined the Uganda Administration. In 1921 he was transferred to the Sudan Administration at the request of the Government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan but retired from it on medical grounds in 1925. He did not always agree with these Administrations

about policy and methods and made no pretence of doing so. He had already published before his retirement an important ethnological monograph on the Lango tribe of Uganda and various papers about other peoples, and on the basis of these and other unpublished studies he decided to start a new career as an anthropologist. With this end in view he worked with Prof. Seligman and Prof. Malinowski at the London School of Economics and Political Science, where he had also the advantage of studying sociology with Graham Wallas and Ginsberg, and pre-history with Childe. In 1927-1929 he gave courses of lectures at the London School of Economics and at University College, mostly on African subjects. In 1931 he began to lecture in the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge on the invitation of Prof. Hodson and was appointed to a full-



J. H. DRIBERG.

time Faculty Lectureship in that Department in 1934, a post which he held till he relinquished it at his own wish in 1942 to do special work in connection with military operations in the Middle East. On his return to England till the time of his death, which was sudden, he was working in the Middle East section of the Ministry of Information. He was happy in his new post, for it continued his contact with Arab and Muslim affairs: he had accepted Islam and was buried in that faith in the Muslim cemetery near Woking.

Jack Driberg would have been the same person in any walk of life. The classical scholar, heavyweight boxer of distinction, poet, and musical critic, of Oxford; the successful administrator who won the affection of those he administered, exceptional linguist, and fighter, of Central Africa; the inspiring tutor, stylist, and brilliant talker at his best *splendide mendax* of London and Cambridge; and the volunteer for desperate

hazards in the years of war; all were of one piece, gay, versatile, lovable, and adventurous—an Elizabethan. His was a rare spirit and his weaknesses were consistent with the heroic in his personality and further endeared him to his friends. The gods give us faults to make us men.

Jack Driberg's romantic figure made him a great success as a teacher at Cambridge. Students felt at once that here was something outside the ordinary academic run. They admired him and he was therefore able to influence them more than a more learned anthropologist but less impressive man might have done. He had *baraka*. To him is largely due the continued development of the Cambridge Department into a flourishing school. First with Prof. Hodson, and afterwards with Prof. Hutton, he worked wholeheartedly to advance the subject of anthropology in the university and its present position is in no small measure due to his untiring efforts. He would have been an even better teacher if financial difficulties had not forced him to over-lecture, as they forced him also to over-write. Although the Cambridge Department in his time produced no research workers there are dozens of his students holding administrative posts in different parts of the Empire, especially in Africa, who owe their first interest in native peoples to his teaching. His work will continue to bear fruit as the years go by.

As a writer Jack Driberg was, apart from his descriptive fieldwork accounts, more a talented popularizer than an original thinker. He started academic anthropology late in life and had not the leisure afterwards, or perhaps even the bent of mind, to acquire a spacious theoretical background. He was less interested in general problems of social anthropology than in particular ethnological problems of a special region. No one knew his theoretical limitations better than himself. For teaching purposes and in writing popular text-books, where some theoretical approach is necessary, he made extensive use of Malinowski's lectures and writings. His own original contributions were to the ethnology of East Africa, a region about which he had unrivalled personal knowledge.

In spite of the unoriginality of his popular writings he performed an essential service to anthropology by spreading through them knowledge of its aims and methods. No one could have been better qualified to do this, for he wrote easily and well. His more popular books satisfied also a long felt want for short introductions to social anthropology for students beginning the subject, whether undergraduates in the universities or adult extra-mural classes (he was a very successful W.E.A. lecturer): such books as *The Savage as he really is* and *At Home with the Savage*. In *People of the Small Arrow* he used the medium of the historical vignette to portray primitive African life to the English reader, and in *Initiation* poetry.

However, he will not be remembered in the history of anthropology by his teaching, since it did not lead to research, or by his more popular writings, which are too much the product of a period, but by his fieldwork monograph *The Lango*. For the time it was written (1923), *The Lango* is rightly regarded as an outstanding piece of research, and it will always remain one of the few classical accounts of an African people before the lives of Africans were strongly influenced by European rule and commerce. That he wrote so good a book is due not only to his powers of observation, which were considerable, but also to his capacity for feeling affection for the people about whom he wrote.

Jack Driberg died at a fairly early age, but had he lived many more years he would not, I think, ever have returned to academic life, or even to anthropology, at any rate not in this country. He had irrevocably made up his mind not to return to Cambridge. He was at the time of his death making a great success of his job at the Ministry of Information and looked like achieving prominence in a third career. Perhaps he would have achieved in it also more worldly success than had been his lot as colonial administrator and university teacher. Had he been harder-hearted and more of a politician his talents might have brought him higher preferment in his previous careers. But it was not for nothing that he was an expert poker player. He gambled with life and did not always win.

I have listed below all Driberg's writings known to me. Of the 41 entries 8 are of books. His most prolific period was from 1929 to 1933. During these five years he published 7 books and 12 articles, one of which, a lengthy analysis of the Didinga language, was detailed enough to have been published as a short monograph. This output was the flowering of the London years. The Cambridge years were by comparison barren. Driberg's literary activity was very much more considerable than the bibliography indicates, for he also wrote numerous reviews and articles in the popular press. At the outbreak of the late war he was engaged in writing a book on the religion of Africans and was collecting material for a further book on the age-set system in Africa. He had also contracted to write his autobiography. It is not known how far he reached in these undertakings.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

1919. 'Rain-Making among the Lango.' *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. XLIV, 1919.
1920. *The Handbook of Uganda* (Chapter on Anthropology), 2nd Ed., London, 1920.
1921. 'The Lango District, Uganda Protectorate,' *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. LVIII, 1921.
1922. 'A Preliminary Account of the Didinga,' *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. V, No. 4, 1922.
1923. *The Lango, a Nilotic Tribe of Uganda*, London, 1923.
1925. 'Didinga Customary Law,' *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1925; 'Lafon Hill,' *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1925.
1927. 'Notes on Dreams among the Lango and the Didinga of the South-eastern Sudan,' *MAN*, 1927, 94; 'The Game of Choro or Pereauni,' *MAN*, 1927, 114; 'The Game of Choro or Pereauni' (concluded), *MAN*, 1927, 127; 'Anthropology in Colonial Administration,' *Economica*, June, 1927; 'The Didinga Mounds,' *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXIX, 1927.
1928. 'Primitive Law in Eastern Africa,' *Africa*, Vol. I, 1928.
1929. 'Inheritance Fees,' *MAN*, 1929, 64; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Ed., 1929. (Several articles); *The Savage as he really is*, London, 1929; *Poker*, by Frank Arnold and Herbert Johnson, London, 1929. (Herbert Johnson is a pseudonym for J. H. Driberg.)
1930. *People of the Small Arrow*, London, 1930; *The East African Problem*, London, 1930.
1931. 'Gala Colonists and the Lake Regions of Africa,' *Ethnolog. Studien*, Vol. I, 1931; 'Yakañ,' *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LXI, 1931; 'The Didinga Language,' *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalischen Sprachen*, Jahrgang XXXIV, 1931.
1932. 'Economic Stages of Development in Africa' (Report to the Sociological Research Meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute), *MAN*, 1932, 200; *At Home with the Savage*, London, 1932; 'The Status of Women among the Nilotics and Nilo-Hamitics,' *Africa*, Vol. V, 1932; *Initiation. Translations from Poems of the Didinga and Lango Tribes*, London, 1932; 'African Systems of Education' (Report of a Lecture given to the Royal Anthropological Institute on 16 March, 1932), *MAN*, 1932, 144; 'State Marriages in Africa,' *MAN*, 1932, 3; 'Lotuko Dialects,' *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXIV, 1932; 'Some Aspects of Lango Kinship,' *Sociologus*, Vol. VIII, 1932.
1933. 'Divination by Pebbles,' *MAN*, 1933, 3; *Engato the Lion Cub*, London, 1933.
1934. 'The African Conception of Law,' *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, Nov., 1934.
1935. 'The "Best Friend" among the Didinga,' *MAN*, 1935, 110; 'Ethiopia, the Country and its Inhabitants,' *Cambridge Review*, 8 Nov., 1935.
1936. 'The Secular Aspect of Ancestor-Worship in Africa,' *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXXV, 1936; *Desert Encounter*, by Knud Holmboe, London, 1936 (Introduction by J. H. Driberg).
1939. 'The Watumbatu of Zanzibar,' by Ian H. O. Rolleston, *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, Dec., 1939. (Edited posthumously by J. H. Driberg.); 'A Note on the Classification of Half-Hamites in East Africa,' *MAN*, 1939, 19; 'Clan Functionaries,' *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1939. *Date uncertain*. 'The Attitude of Africans towards Animals,' *The Animal Year Book*, Vol. II, N.D.

Amaury Talbot: 1877-1945

5 The death of Dr. Amaury Talbot at Cheltenham on 28 December, 1945, has removed one of the best-known Africanists of our time. Percy Amaury Talbot was born on 26 June, 1877. He received his University education at Oxford and began his association with West Africa in 1902 when he was appointed Assistant Commissioner on the Anglo-Liberian Boundary Commission of that year. In 1904 he took part in the Alexander-Gosling Expedition to Lake Chad and in the following year joined the Colonial Administrative Service as Assistant District Commissioner in Southern Nigeria. In 1910 he was a member of the Expedition to North Cameroons and French Central Africa, and in 1911 was promoted to be a District Commissioner in Southern Nigeria. In 1920 he was appointed Census Commissioner for the 1921 decennial census of the Southern Provinces of Nigeria. He was promoted Resident (Provincial Commissioner) in 1921 and retired ten years later.

Dr. Talbot's deep interest in the peoples of Nigeria is evidenced by his numerous published works. The first of these, a study of the Ekoi, appeared in 1912 under the title *In the Shadow of the Bush. Life in Southern Nigeria* followed in 1923. This described the religious and social life of the Ibibio. *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* appeared in 1926; *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults* in 1927; and *Tribes of the Niger Delta* in 1932. Of these works the best-known and most important is *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, a four-volume work containing the results of the census and of the ethnographical and historical investigations which accompanied it. Although Talbot's approach as an anthropologist may now appear old-fashioned, these volumes contain an immense amount of valuable information

and are likely to remain for a long time the standard work on the peoples of Southern Nigeria.

Dr. Talbot was awarded the silver medal of the Royal African Society in 1923 and received the degree of Doctor of Science from Oxford University in 1930. He was also a distinguished botanist and presented to the British and other museums more than 300 flowers new to science. A catalogue of his Nigerian plants was published by the British Museum in 1913.

In most of his ethnographical work Dr. Talbot was ably assisted by his wife, who herself published a work dealing with the Ibibio tribe (*Women's Mysteries of a Primitive People*, 1915). C. K. MEEK

Béla Bartók : 25 March, 1881-26 September, 1945

6 On 26 September, 1945, Béla Bartók died in New York. He is known to the civilized world as a composer, performer, and scientist.

B. Bartók was born in Nagyszentmiklós, Torontálshure, Hungary, on 25 March, 1881, and finished his studies at Budapest. In 1913 at Biskra Oasis, North Africa, he was studying Arabic folk music, and in 1936 Turkish folk music in Asia Minor. In Hungary he travelled for years round Hungarian, Roumanian, Slovak, and Ruthenian villages, collecting folksongs of different nations. His collections are to be seen in the Ethnographical Museum of Budapest and in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. As early as 1913 Bartók worked out, together with Z. Kodály, a model method of collecting and publishing folk-song which is ideal and significant even from the international point of view. In 1934 with the support of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences he began to publish a complete collection of Hungarian folksongs (*Corpus Musicae Popularis*). Besides essays treating the ethnological significance of Hungarian folksong and folk music he wrote essays on primitive Hungarian musical instruments. On the basis of the research of Bartók and his colleague Z. Kodály, the problem of the Eastern relation of Hungarian folk music has been solved

(see B. Szabolesi, 'Eastern relation of early Hungarian folk music,' *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Society*, 1935). His most important ethnological essays are: *Chansons populaires roumaines du département Bihar (Hongrie)*, Bucharest, 1913; *Musikfolklore. Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 1919; 'Die Volksmusik der Araber von Biskra und Umgebung,' *Z. f. Musikwissenschaft*, 1920; 'La musique populaire hongroise,' *Revue Musicale*, 1920; 'The relation of the folksong to the development of the art music of our time,' *Sackbut*, 1921; *Volksmusik der Rumänen von Maramures*, Munich, 1923; *Das ungarische Volkslied*, Berlin, 1925; *Melodien der rumänischen Colinde*, Vienna, 1935; 'The folksongs of Hungary,' *Pro Musica*, New York, 1928; *Die Volksmusik der Magyaren und der benachbarten Völker*, Berlin, 1935; *La musique populaire des Hongrois et des peuples voisins*, Budapest, 1937. (Archivum Europæ Centro-Orientalis, Vol. II.)

Hungarian University, Kolosvár

BÉLA GUNDA

Thomas Hastie Bryce : 1862-16 May, 1946

7 The Emeritus Professor of Anatomy in Glasgow University was educated at Edinburgh Collegiate School and Edinburgh University, where his M.D. thesis gained him the gold medal. He was Demonstrator in Human Anatomy to Sir William Turner, then Lecturer at Queen Margaret's College, Glasgow, and in Glasgow University, till he succeeded John Cleland as Regius Professor.

His special distinction was in human embryology, but he also published valuable work in comparative anatomy. With his professional studies he combined wide and active interest in Scottish archaeology, conducted excavations in early cist graves in Arran and elsewhere, and was a valuable member of the Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland. He was an attractive lecturer and writer, a man of great personal charm, and a constant supporter of the Royal Anthropological Institute. J. L. M.

REVIEWS

SOCIOLOGY

The Psychological Frontiers of Society. By Abram Kardiner with the collaboration of Ralph Linton, Cora Du Bois, and James West. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. xvi, 475. Price \$5.00.

8 In this volume the concept of basic personality type propounded by the author in his earlier publication (*The Individual and Society*) is examined and revised in the light of material from three additional societies—Comanche, Alor, and Plainville (U.S.A.)—supplied by the anthropological collaborators whose names appear, with his own, on the title page. He concludes that, subject to certain modifications, the concept is proved by this further analysis to be not only valid but essential to an understanding of many sociological processes.

Apart from the excellent psychological analyses of the three societies and the illumination which it throws upon several aspects of primitive and civilized society, the main interest of the book lies in its central theoretical postulate regarding the nature of basic personality. It is here, however, that we find some inconsistency. In his introduction, Kardiner defines the basic personality type for any society as 'that personality configuration which is shared by the bulk of the society's members as a result of the early experiences which they have in common. It does not correspond to the total personality of the individual but rather to the projective systems or (in different phraseology) the value-attitude systems, which are basic to the individual's personality configuration' (p. viii). In this passage the basic personality is definitely identified with the earlier constellations, which 'tend to become fixed and integrative' (p. 4). But later the author gives a provisional list of 'key integrational systems' (p. 26) determining basic personality which includes almost all types of institutions likely to be found in any society. He still stresses that it is the earlier systems, and hence in later life those usually represented only in the unconscious, which are the most important, but remarks that, if a decisive change in the conditioning were subsequently introduced, 'the later integrational systems might escape the unmitigated damage wrought by the earliest experiences' (p. 148).

Inconsistency regarding the nature of the concept of basic personality is found throughout the book. On p. 45 the author states, 'The alteration of the life of Western man is not limited to the more accurate knowledge of the outer world. This great scientific knowledge brought with it great alterations in the basic personality of Western man . . . the most significant consequence was the alteration of the whole super-ego system.' Yet on p. 337 he says, 'The personality structure of modern man does not seem to differ from the one we find in Sophocles or Shakespeare. Such differences as we encounter fall within a given range; they are motivated by alterations in techniques of mastery, subsistence, and participation—all engrafted on a similar basic personality structure.' And on p. 440 he remarks further, 'The changes from the

'Pentateuch to Calvin are not changes in essence; they all fall within the range of the same personality structure subjected to different strains.'

It would almost appear that, in abandoning the rather artificial distinction drawn in his earlier volume between 'primary' and 'secondary' institutions, Kardiner has not consistently developed his theory in the light of the considerations which made this abandonment necessary. He himself repeatedly stresses the integrative nature of the human personality. Later experiences usually reinforce, but may counteract, those occurring earlier, but in either case the result will be a new integration. It is surely the final product, the completed personality, which is sociologically important. Kardiner argues that 'the pseudo-problem of biological as against sociological influence' is of small importance compared to the 'integrated control' of the biological drives (p. 448), yet he often suggests stopping short of the final integration. It is true that the process of integration and the gradations in influence of the various institutions are of the greatest importance, but this does not justify the arbitrary selection of any stage of the integration, even though it be the major portion, as the only socially significant part of the personality. Nor could the author be contemplating such a selection when on p. 448 he says, 'The basic personality gives us an inventory of the differences in mental and emotional equipment for adaptation that each group has at its disposal, notwithstanding an identical biological make-up.' He could scarcely deny that the new importance of the 'empirically derived reality systems' (p. 433) has altered modern man's mental and emotional equipment for adaptation and hence to some degree his basic personality.

It seems that the concept of basic personality type implicit in the greater part of this volume is that of the *modal* personality produced in any society by the total configuration of its institutions. It can be identified with the projective systems only if by these we mean the whole subjective element in perception and behaviour. This further qualification is necessary as it seems difficult to maintain (as the author does on p. 39 but not often subsequently) that 'the conclusions on which projective systems are based . . . are the records of traumatic experience.' If basic personality is to be equated with the projective systems (p. viii), the definition of the latter must be far wider than this. Nor will it be sufficient to include all affective elements, whether of traumatic or other origin. Cognitive aspects must also be considered, for the ideational matrix into which new sensation is organized as perception is also to some degree culturally determined. Such a view is implied several times by Kardiner, for instance on p. 5 when he states that the earlier constellations 'are important to identify because they form the cognitive basis of motivational behaviour,' and by his inclusion, among the determinants of basic personality, of the taught reality-systems (p. 34).

Although lacking perfect clarity on the concept of basic personality, the book is otherwise, considering the difficulty of the subject matter, surprisingly lucid. The author has achieved a large measure of success in his main task of demonstrating the nature of the 'continuous cyclic process' (p. 256) of interaction between institutions and personality. This, he rightly claims, is a great advance on the 'culture pattern' concept which had only descriptive value (p. 249). There is little in the general theory with which the anthropologist could disagree, for Kardiner is insistent on the need for accurate culturological study. 'It is wellnigh impossible,' he says, 'to tell in advance what particular elaborations will take place in a given culture' (p. 245) and he emphasizes that 'it is quite misleading to write up an account of a culture from the life-cycle outwards . . . and to give the reader the impression that the ethnographer knew all the time what effects each vicissitude in the life-cycle created in the personality' (p. 250). He also notes that 'tensions and clashes of interest can cause greater difficulties than arise from differences in basic personality-structure alone' (p. 339).

Among the many impressive features of this work, perhaps the most outstanding are the author's refreshing freedom from dogmatically retained preconceptions (a frequent failing of

psychoanalysts who have undertaken the study of primitive cultures) and the extent of his success in the difficult art of empathy, which lends conviction to most of his analysis. Although he is insistent that those who would apply his technique require a thorough training in psychodynamics, there is little that is esoteric in his book and many of his concepts should be found of value by all social anthropologists. Indeed, his list of 'key integrational systems' might well be given a place in *Notes and Queries*. The volume should prove especially valuable to those interested in problems of culture change.

W. R. GEDDES

The Role of the Aged in Primitive Society. By Leo W. Simmons. Yale University Press, 1945. (Oxford University Press.) Pp. vi, 317. Price 4 dollars. English price, 26s. 6d.

The purpose of this volume is 'to study the ways in which various primitive societies have ascribed positions of security and prestige to the aged, and in what ways old people have been able to achieve such status through personal initiative' (p. v). Selecting 71 widely scattered tribes, the author determines the relative frequency of 112 characteristics ('traits') relating to the status and treatment of the aged and correlates them with 109 physical and cultural characteristics. The resulting 1,146 correlations are listed in detail in the appendix and the general findings summarized, with many specific examples, in the main sections of the book under the eight headings of 'The Assurance of Food,' 'Property Rights,' 'Prestige,' 'General Activities,' 'Political and Civil Activities,' 'The Use of Knowledge, Magic, and Religion,' 'The Functions of the Family,' and 'Reactions to Death.'

The obvious care with which the analysis has been made and the recognition given to the limitations imposed by the data are commendable. As a general survey of an important field of primitive life, the study has value, not only in its own right, but also as a corrective to the prevailing tendency towards a too exclusive concentration on the rôle of childhood experience in determining and maintaining cultural forms. Thus, in contrast to those who regard mythology almost purely as 'projection' of early 'trauma,' the author remarks, 'Any prestige accorded to old age has tended to be reflected in the current legends and myths, and it seems significant that in so many of these accounts the star performers have been portrayed as old, wise, and very important persons' (p. 66). . . . It would almost appear that the aged 'have created gods in their own image,' or that mythologies 'have accommodated themselves significantly to the aspirations and coveted rôles of the aged' (p. 74). Many of the other general conclusions are also of interest, such as that 'in primitive societies there are no signs of a deep-seated "instinct" to guarantee to elders either homage or pity from their offspring' (p. 50) . . . respect for old age has, as a rule, been accorded to persons on the basis of some particular asset which they possess' (p. 51). There is an illuminating discussion of the rôle of food taboos, of magic, and of story-telling in providing security and privilege in the years of decline. Finally, there is an excellent description of the various ways in which death has been met, or anticipated, in the different societies.

Methodologically, the main interest of this book lies in its employment of statistical procedure, and it is here that it is most open to criticism. The author defends his method with the statement that 'it is on this (statistical) basis that one may determine best whether the distribution of the trait is subject to reliable generalization, and possibly to some degree of prediction, or must be regarded as due to chance, accident, or unknown factors' (p. 32). But does the accurate determination of the frequency of a trait have any value other than the negative one of providing a check on those who would generalize on a less sound basis? Unless the correlation is perfect, which few of those studied are, we must assume the presence of an 'unknown factor' and we cannot eliminate its possibility even in the case of perfect correlation. It will be noted that practically all the author's general conclusions, which give the real value to his study, are derived more from his considerable insight into functional relationships

than from the bare correlations. As 'prediction,' the only value of statistical generalizations can lie in the possibility of their supplying 'leads' to field workers in new areas. Finally, there are many anthropologists who would question the validity of cross-cultural comparison by means of 'traits' isolated from their general cultural context. The author's interesting employment of a four-point scale of dominance to assess the relative importance of a trait in each society minimizes, but does not fully overcome, such an objection.

W. R. GEDDES

Society and Nature. A Sociological Enquiry. By Hans Kelsen. London, Kegan Paul, 1946. Pp. viii, 391. Price 21s.

10 The thesis of this clearly written and lavishly documented book is the part played by the principle of retribution in the thought of primitive man, by which the author means the close connection in that thought between sins or errors, on the one hand, and retribution, on the other, inflicted by unseen powers. Upon this principle Mr. Kelsen bravely suspends a great weight of theory in the endeavour to show the dependence of primitive man's view of Nature, that is of the natural world, upon his sociology, namely, upon certain ideas of his relations to his fellows in his most primitive societies. From retribution exacted by spirits or 'death-souls,' themselves vindictive because they have been deprived of life, the theory derives the idea of justice for all later times, the personalizing of the higher spirits and deities of religion, and the origin of the conception of causality, particularly as elaborated by the philosophic and dramatic genius of Greece in the classic period of its history. The criticism of the thesis and of its central idea of retribution must be that it is a somewhat slender foundation for all that is sought to be built upon it. There are, indeed, certain areas of savage life, and stages in its history, in which the active powers in Nature and human society are conceived of as spirits analogous to ghosts; and this religion, known comprehensively as Animism, was in the early days of anthropological science regarded as the most primitive religion of mankind, with, as its characteristic ethical motive, fear of the vengeance of the spirits if through ignorance or wilfulness their moral order were transgressed.

What might be called the second (our present) generation of anthropologists has passed beyond the first conception of 'primitive' man as fully represented by the animistic tribes of contemporary savages, and beyond the idea of primitive ethics as derived from the fears of man at the same stage of tribalism. There is perhaps a sense of the slenderness of the undoubted vein of truth he is working upon, beneath the author's vast assemblage of notes and references to the early great authorities, with which the book is rendered more cumbersome than it need be. A more comprehensive view of Nature in its relation to human nature would lead to the fact that, as is the case with other creatures such as the birds and mammals, the very existence and continuance of the race are made dependent upon maternal and paternal care; and surely the elements of beneficence, gratitude, and affection in the rudimentary human family cannot be ignored as a source of the ethical. In truth, the hampering effect of the author's thesis of the normative influence of the principle of retribution upon man's ideas of Nature and of his own social relations is seen in the inadequate treatment of Totemism, which is almost wholly relegated to one large note (pp. 304-305). There is little basis for the statement that 'the principle of retribution dominates the totemistic system'; and little more for the contention earlier that 'undoubtedly the correct nucleus of the relationship is that totemistically organized primitive people interpret their relationship to the totem animal according to the principle of reciprocity: "we do not kill you, in order that you will not kill us," or, more correctly, "we respect you in order that you may adapt your behaviour to our interests."'

This is an illustration of the writer's over-stressing of his category of retribution, especially on its vindictive side. Totemism is, in fact, an example of the development of religion and morals, and of ideas of spirits and deity from other roots than fear: for here the association of beneficence, kinship, fellowship, and mystical communion is as real as the con-

nection with fear is elsewhere. Being very widespread in early times, when hunting and food-gathering were the universal economy, Totemism played a great part in creating human solidarity and tentative essays, as it were, at human brotherhood; and it is an important truth that the brotherhood and the fellowship, even in this most primitive form, depended upon a common relation with the god or object of worship.

Further, this advance received an immense impulse towards the loftier ideas of knowledge, ethics, and religion in modern civilization, as a consequence of what is known as the Agricultural Revolution, when the double domestication of grain and of cattle made of the leading peoples of the world—instead of most primitive food-gatherers and hunters and somewhat more advanced animistic savages who combined with hunting and food-gathering a small amount of garden-cultivation—peoples who were farmers on an ever-widening scale with the use of the great riverine systems, like the Egyptians and Assyro-Babylonians, or were cattle-rearing and herding folk, like the Greeks when they spread over Ionia into their classic home, or were such as the shepherds of Israel who kept their flocks on the pastures of the Near East, and composed poems lofty, tender, spiritual, and universal like the Twenty-third Psalm.

Without going further into the very limited connection of the ideas of causality, justice, and retribution in Greek literature, with its animistic past, it should be said that the emergence of the civilized mind, in a sense once for all, with its qualities of abstract thought, ethical judgment, and a moralized religion, which it has never lost, can be clearly seen in classic Greece, and may be fairly represented in the following views of God, taken almost at random from Æschylus and Plato, differing on their lofty plane. To Æschylus, Zeus is most blessed among the blessed, of perfect power most perfect, 'the all-seeing, all-powerful father, the cause and accomplisher of all things, without whose will nothing happens to men'; Plato is emphatic in his denial 'that God can be the author of evil to anyone. He is the author of all good things but of good things only. If evils come, as come they do, we must find some other theory to account for them.'

JOHN MURPHY

The Social Life of a Modern Community. By W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt. Yale University Press. (O.U.P.) 1941. Pp. xx, 460. English price, 24s.

The Status System of a Modern Community. By W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt. Yale University Press. (O.U.P.) 1945. Pp. xx, 246. English price, 18s. 6d.

The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups. By W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole. Yale University Press. (O.U.P.) 1945. Pp. xii, 318. English price, 26s. 6d.

These three volumes form part of a series of six describing the social organization of a New England town, here referred to as Yankee City. The other volumes have not yet appeared.

Yankee City was chosen as a town in which the 'typical' American attitude to life could be found and as a place where the cultural assimilation of immigrant people could be observed. It is an urban area of some 17,000 people, formerly a seaport and textile centre, now engaged in the shoe-making and silverplate industries. A research staff of thirty was engaged on the project for the five-year period 1930-34.

The method used is that familiar to social anthropologists, the sustained interview, i.e. interview before the event, observation of the event, and interview after the event. The questionnaire and the schedule are referred to somewhat disparagingly but have been put to use in specific aspects of the inquiry. Thus the economic side of life is investigated by means of a 40-page schedule covering all possible variations of income and expenditure. The use of the interview over a population of 17,000 accounts for the long period of the field work.

The main purpose of the research was to test the concept that 'societies have a fundamental structure which integrates and gives characteristic form to the rest of society' (I, p. 36). To this end 'millions of social facts,' covering the reaction of the individual and his social groupings to the natural

environment, to other individuals or groups, and to the unknown, supernatural world, have been collected.

The investigators found that the community divides into six social classes, distinguished the one from the other by family and kinship ties, by differences of economic level, by the amount of divergence from the attitudes of the Yankee host-society, etc. The Yankee City data offer no support for the simple economic determinism of class. This class division has a geographic base which is described with a diagrammatic map of the town. Hill Street, where the upper-class live, and Riverbrook, where the houses of the lower-class are, can be paralleled in any city of western civilization. The material is new only in the detail with which the interaction of the class members is elaborated. Individuals in each class belong to families, cliques, formal and informal associations, and the manner in which all are related to the pattern of the wider society is fully and exhaustively worked out. Tables, diagrams, and charts occupy many pages as the internal relations of each class in the social structure are followed through the family, the associations, the working life, and the use of leisure. A chapter of 'profiles,' made up of composite interview material, gives in conversational fashion the major social characteristics of each class.

Having isolated the six social classes, Volume II attempts to answer the question 'Why do members of the same class behave differently?' The answer given is that it depends on the situation observed, with due allowance for the controls exercised by the seven social structures (family, clique, association, school, church, economic, and political) of the total society. The behaviour of the individual is systematized into 89 possible types, called 'positions,' distributed throughout the six social classes. The conditioning of each individual by his social or ethnic background is clearly described, yet the complex positional hierarchy (one table, on the interconnections of each position, occupies 87 pages) leaves one dissatisfied that the whole of human behaviour in face to face relations has been included.

The non-Yankee people form the topic of Volume III. It has already been shown that English-speaking protestants, including the Scots and the Ulstermen, are integrated with the host society without much friction. Indeed, the whole

pattern of relations is not unlike that of Northern Ireland, except that there the dominant culture is that of the immigrant planters. This volume deals with all non-protestants or non-English speaking immigrants, Irish Catholics, French-Canadians, Jews, Poles, Russians, Greeks, Italians, and Armenians. It describes briefly, and rather too simply, the background of each group and shows the ways in which they are being Americanized. The stages in the upward movement in the scales of social class and residential area are laid out. The movement in dwelling from Riverbrook (lower-lower class) towards Hill Street is analysed in detail for each generation and each type of immigrant. The function of the church, language, the ethnic part-time school and minority associations in retarding the assimilation are stated and nine stages in the making of an American out of an immigrant are recognized.

The detail and completeness of this survey must excite the admiration of all. It is not a social survey as the term is understood in England but an anthropological inquiry into the controls affecting human behaviour within the specific location of Yankee City. It deserves close study by everyone interested in the science of man. Not all its findings will be generally accepted, but we may expect more and important generalizations on the data from Yankee City in the future.

J. M. MOGEY

In Quest of Civilization: A search for ancient clues to the modern puzzle. By Ronald Latham, M.A. London, Jarrolds, 1946. Pp. 336. Illustrations. Price, 21s.

It is a symptom of social change that so many authors are writing attempted syntheses of the human past. The present one has the merit of covering India and China to some extent and of thus avoiding the weakness of so much writing which attempts to make a watertight compartment of Greece, Palestine, and Western Europe. The author emphasizes the quality of human imagination, working at first in close relation with actual surroundings and often running riot. In the same phase there is application to invention and discovery. In the third phase imagination rises to general thought and the literate religions. The author concludes on the note that man's imagination is beyond any satisfaction. H. J. F.

CORRESPONDENCE

Osiris and Dionysus. Cf. MAN, 1945, 38; 1946, 24

13 SIR.—Professor Rose's remarks on the Ovidian epithet, lifted doubtless from a late Greek author, of *bimater* for Dionysus, cannot be gainsaid and the interpretation of *διμήτωρ* given by Liddell and Scott (Jones) as 'twice born' must be right. The component elements of the word imply two mothers and thereby afford clear indication of the artificial character which my critic has duly noted. It consists in fact of a mere literary frill of the kind commonly accruing to myths as they travel down the ages, sometimes corrupting them, if only slightly and never so much as the sophisticated fancies of scribes, mostly of the priestly class.

The Egyptian text giving Horus two mothers is a truly remarkable exemplification of this feature; it arose undoubtedly from the confusion between the two sister-wives of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys, to which I referred in MAN, 1937, 200 (p. 171), and my use of it can hardly be held to affect the main issue. Nor can, in the other case in question, my reference to the *gephyrismoi*: for it matters little whether those ribald jokes were exchanged at the going forth of the Eleusinian initiates or at their return—the latter has been inferred by some authorities.

It seems hardly necessary to suppose an actual connexion with the ritual; the real character of the jokes must surely have been as pleasantries of the usual popular kind attending wedding feasts in most countries and even traceable, though refinedly, in our literary epithalamia till at least the end of the seventeenth century. The *gephyrismoi*, scattered freely in gay holiday mood, were heartily enjoyed and easily became customary. Of the same nature doubtless were the antics of Egyptian women on their way to the great festival of Bubastis, as recorded by Herodotus II, 60. In recent times, in the regions of western civilization, though of course in

weaker degree, similar manifestations of the public spirit may be seen in the pranks, often of rather malicious tinge, which Europeans of North America still play on one another at the Feast of All Souls, in the manner attributed to ghosts on their revisiting this world, which for their part are represented by the pranksome folk draped with white sheets. This holiday spirit, in varying degrees of intensity, is, of course, a strong buttress for most folklore celebrations, such as those once connected with Guy Fawkes, and much more so for the one, described by the Egyptian ruling class and the hierogamy of Thebes. (See MAN, 1937, p. 157.)

G. D. HORNBLOWER

The Conception of an Oikoumenê in Ethnology: a Note to Professor Kroeber's Huxley Memorial Lecture

14 In one of his ablest books, *The New Leviathan*, the late Robin Collingwood closed his survey of moral and political philosophy by an examination of what he described as 'barbarism,' the repudiation, by any body of men, of the rational bases of civilization, as we know it, in acceptance of the 'Golden Rule' of behaviour between man and man as individuals, and between communities, large and small, composed of such individuals associated for their common welfare. On that 'rule' of respect for other persons, as the counterpart and coefficient of 'self-respect,' rest all rules of law and principles of behaviour, from the Two Commandments of Delphi, 'Know thyself' and 'Nothing in excess,' to the Roman conception of a *civis* as a man on whose reactions on any occasion you can count, because they are congruous with your own, and considerate of your ways, and the correlative conception of a *hostis* as an 'outsider' on whose outlook and conduct you could not count, because they did not proceed

from the same fundamental beliefs and ideas. In the Greek language, prompt as ever to find the appropriate term for any notion, such a person was *barbaros*; his speech was meaningless chatter—'ba ba ba'—for his ideas, if he had any, made no sense for *us*. Any person, on the other hand, who was intelligible, in word and deed, was *oikeios*, 'of our own household' and mode of life; and as Greek experience grew it became apprehended as experience of an *Oikoumenē*, a region geographically, which was the 'habitat' or domicile of such a 'human family' of mutually intelligible and considerate people. Beyond the limits of this *Oikoumenē* lay the shifting haunts of *barbaroi*, men unacquainted with our mode of life and regardless of other people's desires and needs.

This ancient conception of the *Oikoumenē* as an historic 'culture aggregate' has recently been examined afresh by Professor A. L. Kroeber of the University of California, in the *Huxley Memorial Lecture* delivered in London on 30 April, 1946 (Royal Anthropological Institute, price 2s. 6d.). Like the conception of the 'frontier' in modern American thought, he finds this ancient conception still significant; for, in his analysis of it, the *Oikoumenē* as we know it to-day has spread so widely over the planetary globe that in the Pacific region 'two civilizational fronts, sometimes stationary, sometimes creeping, sometimes leaping, have at last met'; and he thinks that 'some clash between them was probably inevitable.'

But it is not to this extended notion of the *Oikoumenē* as defined by the geographical distribution of many characteristic elements of a common mode of life that it is desired to direct attention now; but to Professor Kroeber's reformulation of the correlative notion of *Barbarism* in the sense employed by Collingwood to denote the antithesis of *Œcumenical Culture*; and to some amplification of his view of it which seems desirable in view of Collingwood's recent examination of it.

II

After describing the geographical extension, and cultural qualities, of the ancient *Oikoumenē*, down to the seventh century A.D., Professor Kroeber has presented Islam as a reaction within its geographical limits against this civilization, which had grown up, on older foundations, among the peoples of essentially Greek culture, round the Mediterranean basin; and east and west of this respectively, on Græco-Roman and Græco-Iranian culture. He characterizes Islam as a radical rejection of the social and material advancement which it had offered; and as the replacement of it by a proletarian appeal to the common masses of men, a long list of prohibitions and denunciations of the facilities and the responsibilities of civilization. This appeal and revolt carried far; to Spain and the Balkan lands, to the Indies and the frontier peoples of China.

It was not long before Islam accepted or tolerated many elements of the *Œcumenical Culture*, especially in regions most remote from the Arabian homeland, Spain, Morocco, and Iran; and nearer home in Egypt, where that culture was itself exotic and superficial, and Arab conquest meant little more to the peasantry than a change of masters. And it might not have been much longer before this acculturation of Islam was complete, but for a quite distinct though superficially similar outbreak of reaction, the Mongol conquests of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These movements, no doubt for brevity and clarity, Professor Kroeber does not distinguish from the spread of Islam, but it is necessary to be clear about their origin, as well as about their distinct and widespread effects.

III

The Mongols were not Moslems when they broke loose in Mongolia. It was indeed probably the spread of Islam into Central Asia that provoked reaction here among the pagan peoples, as the spread of *Œcumenical Culture* had provoked reaction in Arabia. It is of more significance that Professor Kroeber attributes to Islam and Arab influences the eventual emergence of Persian literature and the liberal arts which are its counterpart in the thirteenth and following centuries. But these did not emerge till the Mongol invaders had broken the Khalifate of Baghdad, and the old oasis-centres of Iran

revived under the dominion of Mongol not Arab dynasties, and culturally under liberal Shia teachers, profoundly affected by the same ancient Zoroastrian beliefs as had influenced the Khalifate. All later Persian history has been a pathetic series of attempts, within the formal acceptance of Islam, to recover an intellectual freedom which links Iran with India on the one hand and the *Œcumenical West* on the other, in antagonism against Sunni Arabia, and another Sunni factor which it is no less necessary to take into account.

For the cultural offshoot of Islam which has most gravely imperilled the *Œcumenical Culture* has not been Arabian, but the Ottoman Empire, itself the result of the most westerly and most forcible inroad of Mongol barbarians, the Turks of Othman and his dynasty, reinforced by their acceptance, not of the liberal Shia doctrines of the Iranian region through which they had come, but of the uncompromising Sunni alternative which prevailed in Arabia itself, in Syria, and in North Africa; reinforced further by the usurpation of the Khalifate by the Ottoman Sultans of the sixteenth century, and their successful religious wars with the Shia dynasties of Persia thereafter.

IV

These complications and reinforcements of the Moslem reaction are significant, not only in regard to the various aspects of Islam in the modern world, but as an aid in comparing them with the third major reaction against the *Œcumenical*—or as we now commonly call it 'Western'—Culture, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The impact of Islam not only devastated *Œcumenical Culture* over wide regions, from the Hindu Kush to the Pyrenees; it profoundly influenced the development of that culture itself. Moreover, it was not the only external force which was operative during the Middle Ages. The attempts of Rome, from Julius Cæsar to Trajan, to penetrate and civilize peninsular Europe provoked a widespread reaction, of which the Northern migrations were the manifestation, from the first century A.D. to the eighth. These movements, however, were multiple and of various origins. Celtic, Teutonic, and eventually Slav peoples were involved, with Magyar and Mongol pressure superadded. And, because they were so various and incoherent, there was no rallying point, nor personal 'prophet,' as in Arabia. Nor were the modes of life or the social units of the 'Northern Barbarians' so incongruous with those of the Mediterranean *Oikoumenē* as the nomad-pastoral life of the deserts. What emerged from this clash of cultures, therefore, was a compromise, the feudal reorganization of most of the *Oikoumenē*, as well as of the Northern peoples themselves. It was this feudalized *Oikoumenē* that withstood and turned back the farthest advances of Islam, both in the far West and under Ottoman leadership. And, with these crises past, the feudal organization itself was gradually dissolved and superseded by a literal 'renaissance' of the *Œcumenical Culture* of Græco-Roman times, and its transoceanic propagation into North America and the Continents of the South-Temperate Zone.

Had no fresh factor intervened, it was the obvious next stage for the *Œcumenical Culture*, thus reconstituted and extended, to impinge on the ocean-frontages of the remaining regions of high culture. Neither India nor China had ever been assailed from overseas. They were quite unprepared for such attack; and it was long before either of them rallied its resources to resist it. But neither India nor China could have reacted as they did if there had not been tacit but no less real reliance on a third factor, not wholly new, but gradually realized by both parties as significant. This new factor may be characterized socially and politically in various ways, according to the importance accorded to this or that element or tendency within it: geographically, however, its region is the continental mass of Eurasia, north of the homelands both of the Mongol peoples and of the 'Northern Barbarians' of ancient and medieval Europe. It has been described, with some significance, as the 'Geographical Pivot of History.'

V

The spread of the *Œcumenical Culture* into peninsular Europe had been checked first at the ethnic frontier between

the Mediterranean peoples and the Celtic-speaking tribes; then at that between the Celtic and the Teutonic. The failure of Augustus and Trajan to fit the keystone into a convex frontier vault resting on the North Sea and the Pontus left a fatal re-entrant breach between the Rhine and the Danube. And before the formal Christianization of the Teutonic peoples was complete, yet another frontier of language and mode of life between Teuton and Slav was found to have similar westward breaches, in Bohemia and Croatia. And this time, moreover, both the defence of such a frontier, and the spread of Christian culture beyond it, were profoundly impeded by the quarrels between Eastern and Western missionaries, best illustrated by the abiding hostility between Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs, and between Catholic Poles and Orthodox Russians.

Further, what might have been a continuous region of Œcumenical Culture, from the old Byzantine dominions northward, was doubly disrupted: on the side of Byzantium by the Ottoman conquest, which imposed on Orthodox Russia a southern frontier as well as a western; and on the side of the Slav by the Tatar inroads (a northern counterpart to the Ottoman thrust through Anatolia and Thrace) which prolonged that southern front northeastward, and gave the great Russian leaders the further task of Slavonizing and Christianizing the regions east of the Don.

Until the latter part of the nineteenth century the political structure of Russia, essentially feudal, like that of Teutonic Europe, was strong enough to absorb many features of the Œcumenical Culture from its western neighbours, as means to its own ends. But the Russian Church, like the Russian State, remained unaffected by western thought: the church remained a powerful instrument of secular nationalization, and also an instrument of a personal dynasty, supported by a close landed nobility and a rigid bureaucracy.

Then, within a generation, two things happened. The complexity of foreign relations, with China and then Japan superadded to such uneasy neighbours as Germany, Austria, and Turkey, overstrained the military resources of the dynasty. And the long-repressed liberal and intellectual movement found expression first in ineffective political compromises, then in complete dissolution of the dynasty, the nobility, and the political church, by a reaction from within and beneath, comparable in intensity with the Moslem and Mongol reactions from the margins of the *Oikoumenê*.

The result has been a complete reorganization of a very large region—the 'Geographical Pivot of History' already mentioned—and of many peoples, only superficially assimilated in material ways to the Œcumenical Culture, but socially almost unaffected even by the feudal compromises which had so large a part in the reorganization of continental Europe. Its political influence already affects all its neighbours, from Japan to Persia, and from Persia to Finland, and consequently also the main centres of the Œcumenical Culture, both in the Old World and in the New.

This political influence is the more powerful because a similar reaction against the Œcumenical Culture had already begun in its most highly civilized states, in continuation of the 'renaissance' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but on materialist not humanist assumptions or beliefs; determinism in the philosophy of nature finding its counterpart in fatalist acceptance of rationalist 'planning' in human affairs, and consequent denial of that individual freedom which—under varied disabilities—has remained fundamental in Œcumenical Culture, and has been responsible for its immense and various achievements, and especially for recognition of the same freedom in other men, and the right of such men to consideration and scope for initiative. While it was determinism—the hypothesis of uniformity—in natural philosophy which made possible the vast extension of man's intervention in natural processes, it was the attempt to treat human affairs as if they could be similarly analysed and controlled—as in the later phases of Græco-Roman culture—that challenged what came to be known as the 'Rights of Man' as a self-determining individual.

It was inevitable that the two movements of reaction, from beneath, in mature European states, and from the margin, within the 'Geographical Pivot of History,' should pro-

foundly influence each other, and that the marginal proletariat should make use of the submerged, in its dealings with states still dominated by the Œcumenical Culture, challenging them, essentially, to give effect in their modes of life to the principles of their Œcumenical and still essentially Christian philosophy.

VI

It is in these later phases of Œcumenical history that Professor Kroeber's analysis seems to take only partial account of the relevant factors, and to raise as many problems as it solves. Among his more specific or tangible items of culture 'content' (in his § V) are cavalry, stirrups, money, water mills, felt, cotton, and chess. Only the last of these—and less directly 'money'—passes beyond the material control of natural resources, and involves the conception of *value*, in both instances arbitrarily defined by the 'rules of the game,' but allowing direct scope for individual initiative and judgment. 'Printing,' 'Royal Tombs,' and 'Grammar' deal likewise with the adaptation of material means, though to less material ends—the spread of knowledge, the attainment of personal immortality, the precise use of speech. The comparison of Christianity and Buddhism, too (in § VI), deals only with beliefs and practices which Professor Kroeber admits to be 'superficial or even verbal rather than intrinsic,' and to result perhaps partly from convergence. Some of them, moreover, have a very wide extension outside the Œcumenical Culture as usually conceived. The same criticism applies also to the outlying occurrences of such customs as 'blood-sacrifice' and 'divination' (in § IV): if account is to be taken of all these, there is little human activity left outside the range of 'Œcumenical' Culture; and the value of this concept in ethnology is diminished. As the concept, however, of a specific, preponderant, interwoven, definable mass of culture, charged with a modern significance additional to the original sociogeographical designation in which culture-reference was at best only implicit, Professor Kroeber's sympathetic analysis is a valuable contribution to the Science of Man.

New College, Oxford

JOHN L. MYRES

Palæolithic Nomenclature. Cf. MAN, 1945, 37: 1946, 3

15 SIR.—I should be grateful for space to comment on some of the points raised by Professor C. van Riet Lowe in MAN, 1946, 3, entitled 'Some Observations on the Tumbian Culture.'

1. The fact that Menghin chose 'Tumba' as the type site for the Tumbian, instead of Dr. Stamer's earlier sites, is regarded by Lowe as 'showing how unsatisfactory was the application of the term "Tumbian".'

This, of course, in a sense is true, but the rules of scientific nomenclature do not normally take such things into account. The only point of importance is that Menghin realized that the material from Tumba contained elements so distinctive that they needed a new name to describe them. The new elements which he recognized were the lance-shaped points and so-called Tumbian picks, and subsequent work, both in East Africa and the Congo, has shown very clearly that these two forms are typical of what has come to be called the Tumbian Culture.

If Lowe's argument were carried to its logical conclusion, it would become necessary for each culture to be re-named after the site where it was first *found*, instead of after the site where its distinctive characteristics were first *recognized*, and this in turn would mean that nearly all the established names throughout pre-history would have to be abandoned.

I believe that I am right in saying that the first Acheulean hand-axes to be recognized as the work of stone-age man were those found by John Frere at Hoxne, but the culture is named, and rightly so, after St. Acheul, where its distinctive characteristics were first recognized. I believe too, that the implements of the Fauresmith Culture were first found in South Africa by Peringuey, but Lowe named the culture after the Fauresmith site, and rightly so because he was the first to recognize the new cultural elements at that site.

If the ordinary rules of scientific nomenclature are followed, the name 'Tumbian' must stand, in just the same way as the name 'Acheulean' must stand, even though subsequent workers, in the light of more scientific work, find it necessary to define anew what the term means, and that is just what Owen and I tried to do in our paper. In my opinion, therefore, Lowe's first objection to the use of the term fails to stand the test of scientific procedure.

2. Lowe writes, 'I submit that the authors' procedure' (i.e. Owen's and mine) 'in adhering to and extending the use of the term . . . is not in accordance with the best ideals, standards, and methods of established archaeological procedure, more especially in a science still struggling for systematization.' To this I would reply that Archaeology will never succeed in its struggle for systematization unless it follows the procedure on these matters that has been established for so long in other and fully systematic sciences—the procedure which recognizes priority. Only so will Archaeology come to take her rightful place among her sister sciences, and cease to be regarded by so many as unscientific.

I agree with Lowe that there is a need for reviewing and readjusting scientific nomenclature in Africa, but let us do it in accordance with established and accepted scientific rules. That is one of the things which I hope will be achieved at the Pan-African Congress in January, 1947.

3. Finally, let me comment briefly on Lowe's last paragraph, concerning Core and Flake Cultures. Both in the article on the Tumbian, and also in his paper in MAN (1945, 37) on the subject of the evolution of the Levallois technique, Lowe shows what appears to me to be a failure to understand the essence of the problem.

As I said in 'Adam's Ancestors' in 1934, and as I have stressed on many subsequent occasions, the conception of a division into core and flake cultures is false, and arose owing to an imperfect understanding of the problem in the earlier days of pre-historic study. The (wrongly) so-called Core Cultures—Chellean and Acheulean—frequently made use of large flakes to make their hand-axes, as well as uniface flake tools. This is not only true of areas where flint nodules were unobtainable, but also true in the flint areas at many of the classic sites of England and France. Similarly, the (wrongly) so-called Flake Cultures—Clactonian, Levalloisian, and Mousterian—made use to some extent of core tools, as well, of course, as making quantities of cores. These facts do not in any way invalidate another well established fact (which Lowe is inclined to question), that these cultures were distinct and separate, and in some cases contemporary. It is certainly true that the makers of the hand-axe culture in some areas (notably, I think, South Africa) used techniques which are associated in the mind of many pre-historians with certain flake cultures, in order to obtain large flakes, and also in the manufacture of certain tool types.

Lowe will, I think, concede me the point that there is a very limited number of ways by which large flakes can be detached from a lump or nodule or boulder of stone. It is therefore inevitable that the hand-axe people should have made use of one or another, or even of more than one, of these techniques in those areas where they had first to obtain large flakes before they could start to make a hand-axe or a cleaver.

One of the biggest threats to pre-history at the present time lies in loose thinking and false logic, and in the fact that so many workers will persist in confusing techniques and cultures. A given technique for obtaining large flakes—the tortoise-core technique for example—may be associated with a number of quite distinct cultures. Indeed, we know that this was the case. The Neolithic celt-makers of Grimes Graves used this technique, but no one nowadays claims that they were in any way linked with the Levalloisians. The 'Anvil' technique, first recognized and associated with the Clacton Culture, is in fact found to have been used in many other cultures as well, including the Acheulean Culture in some places, and even the Aurignacian Culture.

Let us once and for all agree to abandon the label 'Levalloisian' when describing the tortoise-core technique, and similarly abandon the label 'Clacton' for the Anvil technique, with its characteristic flakes with wide-angle unfaceted platforms and large semi-cones of percussion.

Let us realize and accept the fact that these and many other basic techniques have been used by the makers of a great variety of cultures, but let us not argue falsely from that fact that there was no such thing as a Levalloisian Culture or a Clacton Culture.

I will not discuss here the many other points arising out of Lowe's two articles in MAN, as I hope that there will be ample opportunity for frank and not too acrimonious discussion at the Pan-African Congress here in Nairobi in January.

The Coryndon Museum, Nairobi

L. S. B. LEAKEY

A Whitsunday Festival at Salakovač in N.E. Serbia

16 SIR,—On Whitsunday this year I paused, on a journey in N.E. Serbia, in the village of Salakovač, near Požarevač. Although there was no time for detailed observation, this note on some customs which seem unlikely to linger much longer may be worth recording.

It was early evening. Dancing and general merry-making were going on in the enclosure surrounding the church—it is a relatively new one, and the graveyard is elsewhere. The crowd consisted almost entirely of young people, and it is a sign of the times that they did not intend to remain long because a film show was to take place later.

Dancing together in a long chain were young married women, distinguishable by their elaborate coiffures and the huge coloured silk kerchiefs worn hanging down their backs, girls in many varieties of town or peasant costume or of the two combined, and youths whose ultra-smart felt hats were stuck with flowers. Two women wearing a town headdress now rarely seen, a black-tasselled red fez attached at the back of the head and surrounded by tight plaits, were pleasantly conspicuous.

The church was open and the paved floor was strewn with newly-mown hay, which would remain there until Whitsuesday. It is a general custom in Serbia for the congregation to kneel long during the Whitsunday service and while doing so to twist, out of the long grass on the floor, little green wreaths, no doubt connected with May garlands. These, one for the house itself and one for each member of the household, are taken home to be kept until the next Whitsuntide or longer. In towns they are kept beside the family icon, but, by analogy with wreaths made for other festivals, it seems likely that they are used by the peasants for purposes of medicine or magic. I have just, for instance, been assured by a market-woman in Belgrade that to pass one's head through a St. John's Day wreath, made of a small yellow flower—I think *galium verum*—is a cure for malaria.

An interesting feature, outside the church, was a tall erection of painted poles, perhaps connected with the may-pole, supporting some large banners of the kind carried in religious processions. One of the poles rested in a barrel of water into which grains of wheat had been thrown: this was to bring rain. Attached at the top of the erection, in the centre, was a large wreath of wheat, still unripe, and some stems of early maize; these of course to benefit the crops.

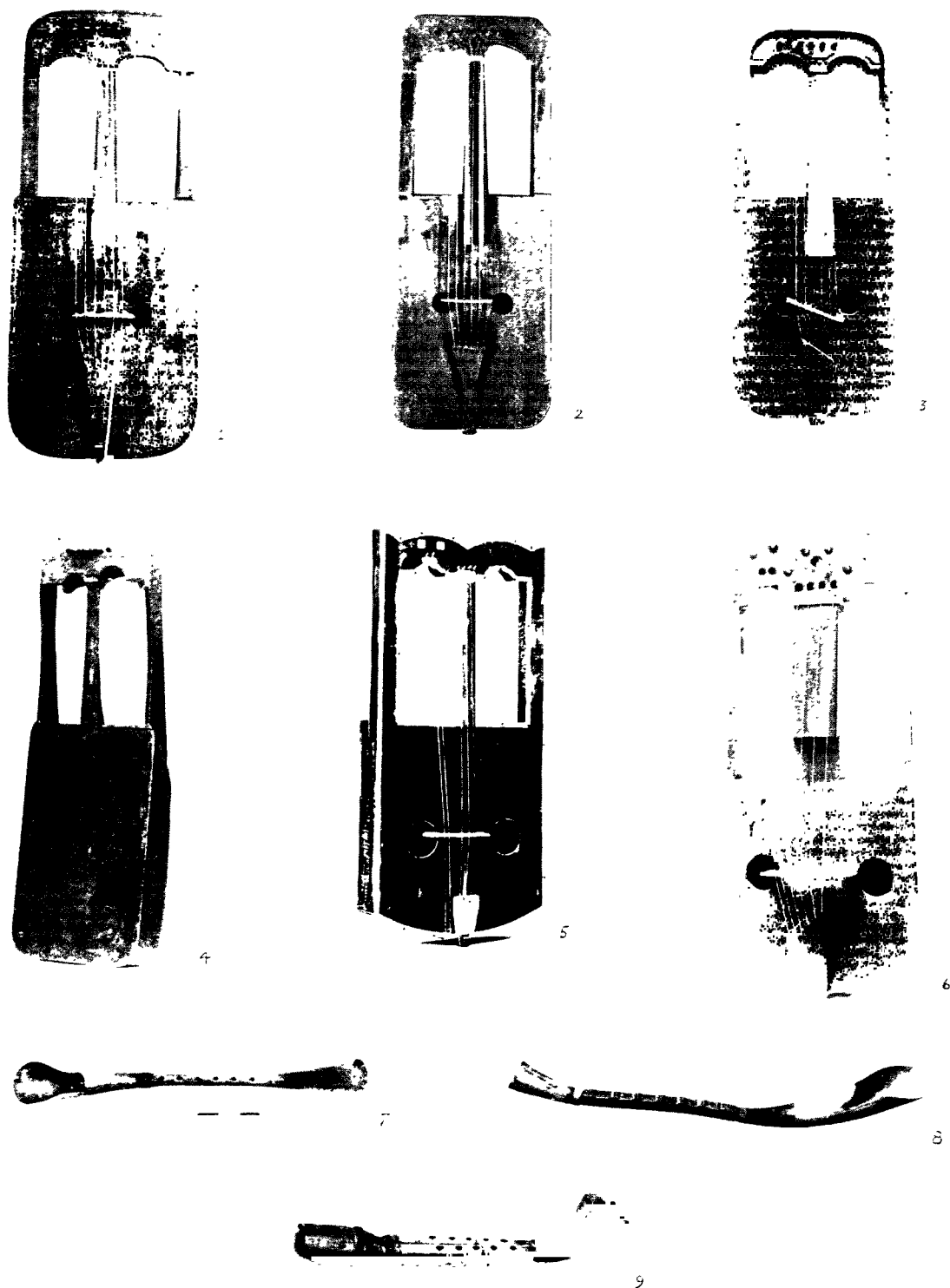
More remarkable, attached to the banners, were numerous handwoven towels, each of which bore an embroidered inscription dedicating it to the memory of this or that person who had died in the past year. Attached, in turn, to each towel, were a number of small objects 'intended,' as the peasants themselves put it, for the respective dead. These consisted mainly of small mirrors (I think there was none without a mirror), bunches of cherries and of roses, and cakes such as are sold at fairs, but also included such mundane objects as a comb and a pocket knife.

The banners were to be carried, I gathered, next day in a procession round the boundaries of the village. The gifts 'intended' for the dead would later become the property of the young boys who carried the banners, while the towels would be tied to the crosses on the graves of those whose names they bore.

The custom of presenting gifts to the dead in this particular manner exists, I believe, in no other part of Yugoslavia than in N.E. Serbia. It is probably due to the influence of the Vlach population which is concentrated farther east, towards the Danube.

Belgrade

CATHERINE BROWN



WELSH MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

1-6, THE CRWTH; 7-9, THE PIBGORN

Note. The bridges in 1, 2, 5 and 6 are modern and incorrectly placed: see 3 for correct position

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

WELSH MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. *By Iorwerth C. Peate, M.A., D.Sc., F.S.A., Keeper of the Department of Folk Life, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff. A paper read before the Royal Anthropological Institute, 14 May, 1946. With Plate B*

17 In 1890 Henry Balfour¹ contributed a paper to this Institute on 'The old British "Pibcorn" or "Hornpipe" and its affinities.' It is my intention in this present paper to take up the story which he then began and to add to it in the light of subsequent research. I am conscious of the fact that the field of early Welsh music bristles with problems of many kinds, and, since I am in no sense a musician and disclaim even a rudimentary knowledge of the technique of music, you will realize that I approach the problem merely as a student of Folk Life who, in the course of his normal duties as a museum official, has to concern himself with the history of the musical instruments of his own people.

1

Giraldus Cambrensis² (1145-7 to 1223) writes that the Welsh 'make use of three instruments, the harp, the pipes and the crwth.' In his *Topography of Ireland*, he mentions that the Irish used only 'the harp and the psaltery'³ (*tympanum*), the Scots 'the harp, psaltery and crwth.' Pipes are not mentioned for either Scotland or Ireland: we know that 'the bagpipe seems to have been in favour in England before it reached Scotland'⁴ and its absence from Ireland in the twelfth century is obvious from Giraldus's description. Do Giraldus's *tibiae* refer to the bagpipe in Wales? Not specifically, I think, for although we now speak of bagpipes in the plural, the old form was in the singular until additional pipes were added.⁵ There are, however, several references to bagpipes in Welsh literature: for example, Iolo Goch (fourteenth century) has his 'chwi-benigl a chod' ('pipe and bag'). The most amusing and detailed description is that by Lewis Glyn Cothi (fifteenth century) in a poem to the Englishmen of Flint, where the noise of the 'heron-voiced' bagpipe is likened to the howling of a 'sad, hoarse bitch imprisoned in a chest.' Another piece of evidence of late fifteenth-century date is a carving in the chancel-roof of Llancilian church, Anglesey.⁶

Colt Hoare's translation of Giraldus's *Description of Wales*—so often inaccurate and misleading—has rendered *tibiae* as 'pipe' in the singular and so led some to suppose that it referred specifically to the hornpipe. This is not so, since pipe forms other than both bagpipe and hornpipe were known in Wales. Edward Jones,⁷ as Balfour notes, refers to the *cornicyll* as well as the *pibgorn*.

Three examples of the *pibgorn* are still known: two of them are described by Balfour. The earliest in type (which came from Anglesey) was figured and described in the 1775 volume of *Archaeologia* (Pl. B. 7). It is the property of the Society of Antiquaries of London, which has deposited it in the National Museum of Wales. The pipe proper is of elder (not 'reed' as Balfour states) with six finger-holes in front and a thumb-hole at the back. It has a bell-mouth of horn, with a serrated edge, and a mouth-piece of horn. The reed placed in the mouth-piece is, as Balfour notes, a beating reed on the clarinet principle, 'formed by slitting the small reed-piece from above downwards, leaving the lower end of the vibrating tongue thus formed, fixed.' Canon Galpin informed me (in a letter) that he fitted a new reed in this *pibgorn* for the Society of Antiquaries. The overall length of the instrument is sixteen inches.

The second *pibgorn* referred to by Balfour has been lent to the National Museum by Colonel J. C. Wynne

¹ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XX, pp. 142-54.

² *Descriptio Cambriae*, cap. XII.

³ F. W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music* (3rd Ed., London, 1932), p. 68.

⁴ Percy A. Scholes, *The Oxford Companion to Music* (1938), p. 59.

⁵ F. W. Galpin, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

⁶ *Inventory of Ancient Monuments in Anglesey* (London, 1937), Plate 80.

⁷ *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (1794), p. 116.

Finch, of Y Foelas, near Bettws-y-Coed, Caernarvonshire, and the belief is that this too came originally from Anglesey (Pl. B. 8). It is of eighteenth-century date. The pipe proper is again of elder (not 'of horn') and has six finger-holes in front and a thumb-hole at the back. The bell-mouth of horn is considerably longer than that of the previous specimen and the mouth-piece shorter. The reed in the mouth-piece is a split-straw of the oboe variety and, in my opinion, is a modern replacement. The overall length of this specimen is 20½ inches.

The third specimen, also in the National Museum, is a double example (Pl. B. 9). It consists of two cane pipes, each with six finger-holes. These are fixed in pitch to a wooden mouth-piece, part of which extends as a channel for a considerable way under the pipes. The mouth-piece has the date 1701 carved on it. At the other end of the pipes are two horn bell-mouths, their rims pierced as if they had originally an attachment of some sort. The sounding reeds are missing. The overall length is 16½ inches. This specimen came from 'a cottage in north Wales' to the collection of the Reverend John Morris of Llan-y-bydder and has been lent to the Museum by his widow. Balfour describes a double specimen from the Greek Archipelago which closely resembles this instrument in character. The holes in the rims of the horn bell-mouths, however, present a problem, but it is obvious that this cannot have been part of a bagpipe since the bag would be fixed at the mouth-piece end.

Balfour points out that the hornpipe of single and double type has a wide distribution. In this island the Welsh *pibgorn* may be compared with the stockhorn of Scotland. Dr. Scholes⁸ writes: 'More or less similar instruments are found in the Spanish Basque provinces, Grecian Archipelago, Arabia, Persia, India and China. The great interest of these instruments is in their distribution, which, it has been said, agrees with that of the megalithic monuments. I doubt whether this correlation should be taken seriously! As to its history in England, the oldest illustration known is in a fifteenth-century window at St. Mary's Church, Warwick.⁹ This is not noted by Balfour, but the literary evidence is given in his paper. In Wales Canon Galpin informs¹⁰ me that his Dolgelly friends 'remembered it well in the Berwyn hills and told me the shepherds used to 'sneak the *tibia* of a deer, if they could get it, to 'make the tube.' David Griffith, *Chevyddardd* (1800-1894), at one time Archdruid of the Welsh *Gorsedd*, writing to a friend in 1892, states:¹¹ 'About a

century ago my worthy father took a pedestrian 'tour through South Wales and he told me that playing 'the Pibgorn was a common thing in those days in 'the South and that the farmers' servant men was '(sic) in the habit of carrying [them] with them when 'driving their cattle to the fairs.' This was about 1792, and it is therefore remarkable that Edward Jones, whose book¹² was published in 1794, should write: 'This instrument . . . is now peculiar to the 'Isle of Anglesey.' In sum, the evidence shows that the *pibgorn* had a long history in Wales down to the first part of the nineteenth century.

2

The second instrument is the *crwth*. The word occurs in English ('crouth') in the fourteenth century, finally assuming the form 'crowd.' It appears regularly in Welsh, from the earliest manuscripts onwards, and has remained in use to the present day. There is a cognate form in Irish. The instrument may have had an ancestral connexion with the *crotha* referred to by Venantius Fortunatus about A.D. 600.

The known examples of the *crwth* show a six-stringed instrument, oblong, with a flat back, sides and soundboard. It has a rectangular opening at the upper end, divided into two by the finger-board. It has six strings, four stretched over the finger-board and two outside it to the right. It is played with a bow. There are two circular holes in the soundboard. The bridge, unlike the curved bridge of the violin, is practically flat-topped,¹³ 'a circumstance from which 'it is to be inferred that two or three strings are to be 'sounded at the same time, so as to afford a succession 'of concords.' Furthermore, 'the bridge is not 'placed at right angles with the sides of the *Crwth*, but 'in an oblique direction.' This is corroborated by the fact that only one foot of the bridge is placed through one of the holes, serving also as sound-post or 'anima,' the other short foot of the bridge resting on the soundboard or belly just in front of the second hole.

Both these points, the flat-topped bridge and its oblique setting, were overlooked by Arnold Dolmetsch in his reconstruction of the *crwth*, when he used a violin-bridge in the usual violin position, thus enabling him to bow the strings singly. When I pointed this out to him, he wrote:¹⁴ 'The position of the bridge 'is a very important matter. With a slanting bridge, 'the notes on the pairs of strings which must sound in 'octaves cannot be played in tune: therefore the 'bridge placed at right angle[s] to the axis of the 'instrument is an absolute necessity, if full use is to

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 897.

⁹ *Archaeologia*, 61, Pl. 95.

¹⁰ *In idibus*, 6.3.1936.

¹¹ Letter in National Museum of Wales.

¹² *Op. cit.*

¹³ See, for instance, Edward Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

¹⁴ Letter dated 28.2.1935.

'be made of the resources of the instrument. This would go with a *curved* bridge allowing the different strings to be played singly. But some *crwths* had a flat, or almost flat, bridge; in that case the obliquity would facilitate the bowing. But then, only the Treble string could be fingered for different notes, the other strings serving as drones.'

I am unable to discover Dolmetsch's authority for the two types of bridges and even suspect—but I do not wish to be unjust to so distinguished a worker in this field—that his reference to them may have been a facile way of excusing his own curved-bridge reconstruction. His interpretations of Welsh *crwth* music should therefore be treated critically.¹⁵

The *crwth* remained in use in Wales throughout the Middle Ages and down to the nineteenth century. There are descriptions of it in poems by, for example, Gruffuddap Dafydd ap Hywel ('fifteenth century) and by Hywel ap Tudur ab Ioews. These stress that the body of the *crwth* is carved of sycamore, the table only being added, often of deal or some such wood. The seal of Roger Wade, Crowder on a document dated 1316 from Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire, shows that in the Middle Ages a very similar instrument was known in England.

The authentic examples of the *crwth* still in existence may be listed as follows:

1. A *crwth* (Pl. B, 1) with an inscription stating that it was made in 1742 by Richard Evans of Llanfihangel Bachellaeth, Caernarvonshire. This is now the property of Colonel J. C. Wynne Finch, of Y Foelas, Caernarvonshire, and is exhibited in the National Museum of Wales. It was shown in London in the 1872 Exhibition and copies were then made of it for English and Continental museums by Chanot of Wardour Street. Several authors have confused the replica in the Victoria and Albert Museum with the original.
2. A *crwth* (Pl. B, 2) in the National Library of Wales. This is in the Sir John Williams Collection and was bought in Montgomeryshire. It is possibly the instrument owned by the Reverend John Jenkins (1770–1829) of Kerry, in that county.
3. A *crwth* (Pl. B, 4) in the Corporation Museum, Warrington. Its finger-board is missing. This appears to resemble a *crwth* described and drawn in 1770.¹⁶

4. A *crwth* (Pl. B, 3) now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A. This was made about 1896 for Canon Galpin by Owen Tudur (1813–1909) of Dolgelley, Merionethshire, and, since it was built on direct tradition, it must be admitted to evidence. Its evidence of the shape and position of the bridge is particularly important.

As an appendix to this list, reference must be made to (a) a *crwth* (Pl. B, 5) in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna. This instrument is of the normal *crwth* type, six-stringed, the borders inlaid with bone. The string-holder has a small metal plate engraved with the bust of a soldier of the seventeenth century. Though described as a 'Welsh *crwth*,' its history is unknown. (b) In the Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Brussels, is a similar instrument (Pl. B, 6) but without inlay and plate, and rougher in workmanship. Similarly described, it may well be a rough copy or parallel of the Vienna instrument, and the *conservateur* of the collection informs me that he is not prepared to vouch for its authenticity.

The detailed history of the *crwth* and its possible relationship to other musical instruments still await treatment. There has been much theorizing concerning it, most of it indefensible. The problems involved and the research required are admirably set forth by Mr. Gerald R. Hayes.¹⁷ These are briefly: (a) an exact study of the Welsh literary sources, by a competent student of music; (b) an examination of the evidence for the opinion that the *crwth* was so distinctly a national instrument as to deserve the appellation 'Welsh'; (c) inquiry into the meaning of the word *crwth*: did it always mean this instrument and no other? Were there three-stringed and four-stringed variations? (d) an investigation of the technique of playing, unaffected and unprejudiced by more familiar methods such as that of the violin. And, lastly, (e) research as to what *crwth* music exists.¹⁸

3

The third instrument is the *telyn* (harp). Welsh music is so consistently linked in the literature and in popular belief with the harp, that the harp is generally regarded in Wales as *par excellence* its national instrument. It is therefore all the more surprising that the history of the harp in Wales has never been adequately studied or described, although the late Dr. J. Lloyd Williams informed me early in 1945 that he was busy on a work on the History of Music in

¹⁵ Dolmetsch, as a master craftsman of fine instruments, tended to depreciate the ruder work of the peasant tradition (to which the *crwth* belonged). . . . The work of peasants, 'unskilled people [his italics],' he wrote in the same letter, 'who amused themselves that way . . . their work cannot be approached from the same point of view as the exquisite examples of craftsmanship which we possess, dating from the remotest antiquity to the present day.'

¹⁶ *Archæologia*, III, Pl. VII.

¹⁷ 'Notes on the Crwth' in *Y Cerdhor*, 2nd Series, March and April, 1931, pp. 417–19, 451–3. For a chapter on the Welsh Crwth containing a large number of illustrations, see Otto Andersson, *The Bowed-Harp* (London, 1930), pp. 195–256: this is a translation of the same author's *Stråkkharpan* (Helsingfors, 1923).

¹⁸ See, for instance, *Musica* (1936) for a reprint of B.M. Additional MS. 14905, where the term *crwthor* ('crowder') appears several times.

Wales. His death later that year, in his 92nd year, deprived Welsh music of its greatest benefactor in the historical field. A University professor of botany, he will be remembered by his fellow countrymen as a collector and historian of their folk song.

I do not propose to enter into the thorny problem of the origin of the harp in these islands. Canon Galpin¹⁹ states dogmatically that it was 'the Angle, the Saxon and the Northman who used the harp' and that 'there is no evidence . . . to show that the harp in the triangular form in which we know it was 'used at all in Ireland or by the Keltic people before the end of the tenth century.' O'Curry,²⁰ however, maintains that 'in no country in Europe is the antiquity and influence of the harp thrown so far back into the darker regions of history as in Erin' and remarks that the harp is the first musical instrument referred to in Gaelic writings. The instrument so named was, however, quadrangular and possibly of lyre form: nevertheless, 'I am . . . certain,' he says, 'that [the Irish] have never borrowed the instrument nor its name from our neighbours and ancient Celtic cousins: but that, if anything, they have borrowed it from us.'

The Welsh word for harp is *telyn*—as contrasted with the Irish *cruid*. It is a word of great antiquity, for it appears in the other Brythonic languages, in Breton as *telemn* (modern form *telen*) and in Cornish as *telhin*. It appears in early Welsh poetry of pre-tenth-century date preserved in the Book of Taliesin and available to us in a manuscript of the thirteenth century. This contains references to harps, harp-strings and harpers. In the Welsh Laws, codified in the tenth century but of which the oldest surviving manuscript is late twelfth century in date, the harp figures prominently. It is one of the three indispensable of the freeman. Three 'legal' harps are listed, the king's harp and that of the chief of song (*princwrdd*), both of the same value, and the freeman's harp, which was half the former's value. If, as Galpin suggests, the harp was not known to Keltic peoples before the end of the tenth century it seems strange that it should have assumed such an important place in Laws which were codified in that century.

In *The White Book Mabinogion*²¹ reference is made

to *telyn teirtu* (the harp of *teirtu*). This is probably a textual error for *teirtud*, a form which appears in an elegy by the fifteenth-century poet, Dafydd ab Edmwnd, who refers to a *telyn deirtud*.²² This has been wrongly interpreted by Edward Jones²³ as a reference to a triple harp, but it cannot bear that meaning. The only other explanation given is the obvious one that *teirtud* = *tair* + *tud* (the three lands) and the *Book of Llan Dâr*²⁴ refers to *Castell Teirtud*, i.e. Treacastle in Brecknockshire: the three lands concerned are mentioned, viz. Cantref Bychan, Cantref Selyf, and Buellt. This form is commented upon in Owen's *Penbrokshire*²⁵ as one from which 'the harp of Welsh legend and poetry probably took its name.' This particular association of the harp with this area of Brecknockshire is difficult to explain, but it is at least certain that the references concerned are not to a triple harp.

What, therefore, were the earliest known Welsh harps like? The fourteenth-century poet, Iolo Goch,²⁶ has given us a description of a leather harp, i.e. a wooden harp covered with leather. The strings, he states, were of sheep-gut and not of horsehair. He refers to its *cafn botynog* ('buttoned trough'), its *coludd* (the gut string), its *cwr bergam* ('the short bent neck'), and its *llorf cam* (bent pillar). This leather harp is then lampooned and described as a *sonfawr wylddeus ynfyd* (a noisy foolish Irishwoman). This may be either a reference to its Irish origin or may be merely a term of disrespect. The description, however, particularly the insistence upon the presence of a bent pillar, closely tallies with the known form of some early mediæval Irish harps: the Trinity College example may be cited. The poet indeed declares that he does not like the features which he mentions and the harp is 'poor under the pressure of the player's fingers.' The poem concludes with a plea for all music pupils to obtain harps with black horsehair strings 'as was the custom in our forefathers' days.' It appears obvious, therefore, that this leather-covered, bent-pillared, gut-strung harp was a newcomer, possibly from England or Ireland: the poet maintains that it and its hoarse voice had been formed only for an 'old Saxon.'

It should be stated here, however, that in some versions of the Welsh Laws²⁷ reference is made to the fact that harpists in the discipular stage played on hair-strung harps, and that when they became recognized players they left off such harps. Unfortunately,

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

²⁰ E. O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (London, 1873), III, p. 213. Hortense Panum (see *The Stringed Instruments of the Middle Ages*, London, 1941, pp. 102 ff.) holds that Galpin is incorrect in attributing the frame-harp to the Northern peoples: 'The frame-harp may possibly have been created by the attempts of the British Celts to make a more complete stringed instrument of their inherited national lyres and quadrilateral instruments.' She concludes that 'the harp proper is first found in the British Isles . . . and it is . . . possible that it was [the Irish] experiments which at length created the frame-harp.'

²¹ J. Gwenogvryn Evans (ed.), *The White Book Mabinogion* (1907), p. 482, l.

²² T. Roberts, *Gwaith Dafydd ab Edmwnd* (1914), p. 80.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

²⁴ J. Gwenogvryn Evans and John Rhys, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâr* (1893), p. 134.

²⁵ Vol. III, p. 319.

²⁶ T. Parry (ed.), *Pennant* 49 (1929), pp. 181-3.

²⁷ Aneurin Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (1841), II, pp. 18-19.

the type of harp subsequently used is not mentioned.

Welsh harps have single, double, and triple rows of strings. Unlike the Irish harps, and that mentioned by Iolo Goch, the pillar—in post-mediaeval times—was invariably straight.²⁸ The triple harp appears to have been Wales's peculiar contribution to the development of the instrument. Such harps generally had ninety-eight strings or even more—thirty-seven in the right-hand or bass rank, twenty-seven in the left or treble rank and, in the middle, thirty-four for the semitones. The date of this interesting development has still to be determined: Galpin places it as early in the seventeenth century,²⁹ but he does not present his evidence for this dating. Wiliam Llŷn (1534-5 to 1580), in a poem soliciting a harp from Siancyn Gwyn for Siôn Trevor, refers to

Y tri enaid tra union

[The three souls so straight]

and adds

Pob celfyddyd byd lle i bôn

[All the arts of the world where they may be]

It is not quite clear whether this refers to the three rows of straight strings, the 'souls' of the harp, but if it does, then the triple harp was known in the sixteenth century. It is to be hoped, however, that this and kindred problems will be solved in the near future, and it may be noted that the National Eisteddfod of Wales is now offering a substantial prize for a history of the harp in Wales.

During the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, the harp, particularly the triple variety, became

extremely popular in Wales and several makers established reputations for their instruments: of these John Richards of Llanrwst, who died in 1789, and Bassett Jones of Cardiff, who flourished in the first half of the nineteenth century, may be noted. Examples of the work of both these makers are included in the collection of Welsh harps in the National Museum of Wales. The finest harp in this collection, however, is of early eighteenth-century date and deserves special mention. It belonged originally to Huw Siôn Prys, harpist at Powis Castle, Welshpool, and subsequently became the property of two Welshmen, Robert and Edward Jones, who were, in turn, Harpists to the King. It ultimately became the property of a well-known Welshpool harpist, Humphrey Humphreys. The pillar, decorated in low relief with a spiral chain of oak leaves, is surmounted by a winged cherub, carved and gilded. The neck bears a Tudor rose, similarly treated, and the soundbox is painted with similar designs. It is a fine example of the craft of the triple-harp maker at its best.

4

These, then, are the traditional Welsh musical instruments, and in the case of each of them—the *piygorn*, the *cruth* and the harp—much work remains to be done before their true history is known. In particular, the Welsh sources—notably the Laws and the mediaeval court poetry—should be studied in detail by a competent musician who is also a proficient Welsh scholar. As I have indicated, I have approached the problem merely as a student of material culture: if, in so doing, I have succeeded in lifting a tiny corner of the curtain which hides the past from us, it is only to reveal to others, better equipped than I, the wealth which lies beyond.

²⁸ The small miniature silver harp presented to the *penecddi cerdd dant* at the Caerwys Eisteddfod, 1568, has a curved pillar. This may be further evidence to show that in mediaeval times the Irish form was known in Wales.

²⁹ F. A. Galpin, *A Textbook of European Musical Instruments* (1937), 80.

L'ANTHROPOLOGIE EN FRANCE DURANT LA GUERRE. By H. V. Vallois, D.M., D.Sc., Paris. Communicated to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 17 April, 1946

18 La période 1939-1945 a d'abord été marquée en France par la mort de deux savants éminents. M. Boule, professeur honoraire au Muséum d'Histoire naturelle et directeur de l'Institut de Paléontologie humaine (1942), et R. Anthony, professeur au Muséum et sous-directeur de l'École d'Anthropologie (1941). D'autres aussi ont disparu, plus tragiquement: M. Halbwachs, professeur au Collège de France, mort au camp de Buchenwald. R. Vildé et A. Levitsky, attachés au Musée de l'Homme et fusillés, et quelques autres encore.

Plusieurs changements ont marqué les institutions anthropologiques. Au Musée de l'Homme, dont tout le personnel avait été momentanément arrêté par la Gestapo, M. Rivet a dû, dès 1941, quitter son poste de

directeur. Jusqu'à son retour, fin 1944, il y a été remplacé par M. Vallois qui a été nommé entre temps, à la mort de M. Boule, directeur de l'Institut de Paléontologie humaine. Le Laboratoire d'Anthropologie de Toulouse a été, de ce chef, supprimé. Une chaire d'Ethnologie a été créée à la Sorbonne dont M. Griaule a été nommé professeur: une maîtrise de conférence d'Ethnologie a été créée à Lyon et donnée à M. Leroi-Gourhan. La revue 'L'Anthropologie' a dû interrompre sa publication. Mais les Sociétés d'Anthropologie de Paris, des Africanistes et des Américanistes ont continué, malgré certains incidents, à tenir leurs séances et à publier leurs Bulletins. Les cours de l'École d'Anthropologie et de l'Institut d'Ethnologie ont été faits à peu près régulièrement.

C'est essentiellement au Musée de l'Homme, au Laboratoire d'Anthropologie de l'École des Hautes Études (Laboratoire Broca), et à l'Institut de Paléontologie humaine qu'ont été réalisés, dans des conditions morales et matérielles pénibles, et sous la surveillance parfois agressive de la police allemande, les travaux anthropologiques et ethnographiques de cette période. Je n'envisagerai ici que les premiers.

Il faut d'abord citer une mise en ordre complète des collections du Laboratoire d'Anthropologie du Muséum dont, pour la première fois depuis plus de 100 ans qu'elles existent, un inventaire systématique avec catalogue sur fiches a été établi. Différentes recherches sur la standardisation de la technique ostéométrique ont été effectuées. Mais la majeure partie des travaux anthropologiques se répartit sous trois chefs : anthropologie de la France, anthropologie des Noirs de l'Afrique française, anthropologie des Hommes préhistoriques.

Anthropologie de la France

Les recherches les plus importantes concernent les groupes sanguins dont la répartition en France n'avait jamais été l'objet d'une étude suivie. Une première enquête, faite en 1939-40 et portant surtout sur le Sud-Ouest, a mis en relief certaines différences. Reprise en 1943 et étendue à tout le pays, cette enquête groupe maintenant plus de 30,000 sujets répartis d'après leurs lieux de naissance (Vallois, 1941, 1944). Les chiffres suivants, en %, qui reposent sur de larges séries, montrent l'existence de formules spéciales pour diverses régions :

	O	A	B	AB
Nord-Est de la France ..	42.4	43.3	10.3	3.7
Bretagne	46.8	39.8	11.4	1.9
Littoral méditerranéen ..	35.1	55.9	7.2	1.9
Coin Sud-Ouest	50.7	43.1	3.7	2.5

On voit que le groupe O, qui atteint son maximum dans le Sud-Ouest, essentiellement dans le pays basque (où il arrive jusqu'à 57%), est au minimum sur la Côte d'Azur. C'est au contraire dans cette dernière région que le groupe A a son pourcentage maximum, alors qu'il s'abaisse beaucoup en Bretagne. Enfin le groupe B diminue du Centre vers le Sud-Ouest et arrive à un chiffre extrêmement faible dans le pays basque. Les cartes publiées par Boyd pour la répartition en Europe occidentale des gènes p et q doivent donc être modifiées en ce qui concerne la France, mais les enquêtes ne sont pas encore terminées.

Diverses corrélations des groupes sanguins ont été étudiées. Il n'y a pas de relation avec l'âge : il n'y a donc pas de morbidité spéciale de certains groupes comme on l'a prétendu ; mais le groupe A est plus fréquent chez les hommes, le groupe B chez les femmes. Un fait important est que le rapport A/O est plus grand chez les individus à yeux clairs : cette

corrélations a une valeur statistique sûre (J. Leschi, 1945-1946).

D'autres enquêtes ont eu pour but l'étude de diverses populations de la France : Forez (G. Mollon, 1942), Corrèze (Hartweg, 1944), Flandres (Quesnoy, 1942-44), Pays basque (Darmendrail, 1945). Certaines modifications des caractères par rapport aux données recueillies au siècle dernier ont été ainsi constatées. Par exemple dans le Nord, il y a notable augmentation de la stature et accroissement de la dolichocéphalie. Dans le pays basque, la proportion des yeux clairs semble accrue.

Des études ont été faites sur les variations des types constitutionnels des soldats (Schreider, 1943). Le relevé des empreintes digitales de 15.000 sujets a donné un indice de Furuhashi de 44.8, un indice de Dankmeijer de 14.2 (de Lestrangé, 1943). Les empreintes palmaires de près de 8,000 individus ont été étudiées selon la méthode de Cummins (Gessain, 1943 ; de Lestrangé, 1945).

Une mise au point générale des données actuellement acquises sur la population française a été tentée dans un volume spécial (Vallois, 1943). Elle montre qu'on peut distinguer en France six grandes zones anthropologiques dont chacune se caractérise par la prépondérance spéciale de certaines races : les quatre premières de ces zones forment autant de triangles orientés autour des deux branches d'un X mené par le travers de la France ; les deux dernières correspondent à la Bretagne et au littoral méditerranéen.

On peut enfin rattacher aux recherches précédentes celles réalisées par R. Kherumian sur les Arméniens résidant en France (un vol., 1943). Leur étude détaillée et leur comparaison avec les Arméniens d'autres pays montrent l'existence de deux types, l'un plus brachycéphale et à stature moins élevée, originaire d'Anatolie ; l'autre plus grand et à tête moins aplatie, originaire de Transcaucasie. Chez l'un et l'autre l'élément de base serait la race dinarique ; la soi-disant race arménoïde n'existerait pas.

Anthropologie des Noirs de l'Afrique française

Un certain nombre de documents recueillis avant la guerre et concernant l'anthropologie somatique de diverses peuplades africaines a été élaboré. Provenant essentiellement des enquêtes de MM. Millous et surtout Lecca, ils ont montré (Vallois, 1941) que la distinction souvent proposée en Noirs sylvestres et campestres était trop simpliste. On doit, rien que pour l'Afrique française, admettre au moins quatre types distincts : sénégalais, guinéen, congolais et tchadien. Chacun a des caractères plus différenciés et d'autres plus primitifs. Ainsi les Sénégalais sont les plus noirs, mais ils sont moins prognathes et moins platyrhiniens que les Congolais lesquels, par contre, ont un indice brachial moins élevé et possèdent un

mollet presque aussi développé que celui des Blancs. Les Guinéens ont aussi un mollet, mais leur peau tire sur le marron et leur membre inférieur n'est pas très allongé ; leur prognathisme est modéré. Le prognathisme est très fort chez les Tchadiens, à peau brun foncé, membre inférieur extrêmement long, et indice brachial très haut, etc.

D'autres mensurations, recueillies sur les Négrilles ouest-africains (Vallois, 1940 ; Fleuriot, 1942), ont apporté de nouvelles données sur ce groupe mal connu et montré qu'il ne peut être considéré comme seulement 'pygmoïde.' Ce sont de vrais Pygmées, mais qui appartiennent à un type légèrement différent de celui des Bambouti orientaux.

Divers points de l'anatomie osseuse des Noirs ont été examinés : étude des crânes des Tourkana et des Kikouyou (Lester, 1943) ; étude de crânes de Négrilles (Twisselmann, 1942) ; étude du prognathisme chez les Noirs et des méthodes radiographiques permettant de le déceler et de le mesurer (Lefrou et Cazeilles, 1942).

Des recherches sur les parties molles ont été réalisées grâce à des contingents stationnés en France : fréquence de certaines dispositions musculaires examinées suivant la technique préconisée par Loth ; étude sur le cadavre des vaisseaux, nerfs et muscles de la jambe (Pales et Chippaux). Ces recherches, qui ont été très approfondies, n'ont pu encore être publiées. Une étude histologique sur la tache mongolique des Malgaches (Ratsimamanga, 1940) a montré l'indépendance des cellules de Baelz et des cellules de Langerhans : seules responsables de la tache mongolique, les premières ont une réaction argentaffine et une doparéaction positive.

Du point de vue physiologique, quelques recherches avaient été faites avant guerre sur les constantes sanguines des Noirs ; elles étaient très insuffisantes. Elles ont été reprises en 1943 avec des méthodes précises et dans des conditions d'exactitude rigoureuse. Les premiers résultats, qui montrent une diminution du chlore et une augmentation du potassium chez les Noirs résidant en France ont seuls encore été publiés (J. Leschi, 1946).

Anthropologie des Hommes préhistoriques

Au début de la guerre, les collections de paléontologie humaine les plus précieuses avaient été transportées en lieu sûr et y sont restées jusqu'en 1945. Les études dans ce domaine ont donc été limitées à des pièces qui, pour diverses raisons, n'avaient pas été enlevées des laboratoires. Les principales de celles-ci sont les suivantes :

(a) Un maxillaire et une mandibule trouvés à Rabat (Maroc) en 1932, dans un gisement datant du Wurmien, peut-être même du Riss-Wurm. Leurs caractères sont ceux de l'Homme de Néanderthal avec

certaines dispositions encore plus primitives et qui rappellent le Sinanthrope, comme l'existence d'un cingulum sur plusieurs dents. P² inférieure est même chimpanzoïde (Vallois, 1945).

(b) Une mandibule trouvée à Diré-Daoua (Abysinie), dans un milieu sans doute moustérien et qui, pour autant que son état défectueux permet d'en juger, semble se rattacher au type de Néanderthal.

(c) Un squelette d'âge mésolithique, exhumé de la grotte du Cuzoul de Gramat, Lot, et dont les caractères sont intermédiaires entre ceux des mésocéphales de Tévéc et des dolichocéphales de Mugem (Lacam, Niederleünder et Vallois, 1945).

(d) Divers ossements, dont deux crânes, découverts à Deventer (Hollande) et sans doute, eux aussi, mésolithiques. Bien que mésocéphales, les têtes se rapprochent des dolichocéphales d'Ofnet (Vallois, 1943).

(e) Un grand nombre d'ossements moins anciens, néolithiques, des âges du Bronze ou du Fer, ou des époques barbares, et dont l'étude, intéressante du point de vue de l'histoire anthropologique de la France, a donné lieu à diverses monographies (Marquié, 1940 ; Lacombe, 1941 ; Royer, 1942 ; Riquet, 1943 ; de Félice, 1943 ; Pales, 1944). Une importante statistique sur les variations de la carie dentaire faite sur 15.000 dents appartenant à des Hommes de ces diverses périodes en France, a donné, entre autres résultats, les pourcentages de caries suivants : Néolithiques et premiers âges des Métaux : 3,81 % ; Gaulois : 6,34 % ; Gallo-Romains et Barbares des premières invasions : 11,35 % (Hartweg, 1943). C'est la première fois qu'une statistique aussi étendue a été établie sur le continent.

Bien que non effectués en France, je mentionnerai enfin, à côté des travaux précédents, ceux réalisés aux colonies durant la même période. En Afrique équatoriale, des enquêtes étendues ont été faites sur l'anthropologie des Noirs du Cameroun et plus de 2.000 individus ont été mesurés (Olivier, Aujoulat Chabeuf, Chagnoux, David, 1943-45), apportant ainsi une base pour l'étude des types anthropologiques de ce pays. L'autopsie de nombreux cadavres a fourni d'importants documents d'anatomie viscérale : c'est ainsi que la plus grande longueur de l'appendice des Noirs (12 cm. en moyenne chez les Noirs de Douala contre 7 à 8 aux Européens) a été confirmée (Olivier, 1945). Des recherches ont été effectuées sur la calcémie (Olivier, 1945).

Aux Antilles, des statistiques ont été établies sur les groupes sanguins (Montestruc et Ragusin, 1944). En Indochine, des enquêtes sur le même sujet, faites juste avant la guerre, ont été élaborées et publiées en France (Farinaud, 1941 ; Marneffe et Bezacier, 1942). Reposant sur près de 15.000 individus, elles

font ressortir, entre autres, l'existence chez les Moï d'un type sanguin spécial que caractérise sa faible teneur en groupe O. Ultérieurement, et pendant l'occupation japonaise, l'Institut anthropologique de la Faculté de Médecine d'Hanoi a été le centre de recherches nombreuses dont la plupart ont été rassemblées dans trois volumes qui constituent respectivement les tomes 7, 8 et 9 des Travaux de cet Institut (1943 et 1944). Il serait trop long d'en énumérer le contenu.

Je mentionnerai encore qu'à côté de l'anthropologie

physique, l'ethnographie et la préhistoire n'ont pas été négligées en France durant la guerre. Pour la première de ces sciences, de nombreux travaux ont été publiés, en particulier ceux de M. Griaule et de ses élèves sur les Noirs du Soudan : pour la seconde, M. Vaufreys a fait et fait faire en France une série d'enquêtes, tandis qu'au Portugal, puis en Afrique du Sud, M. l'Abbé Breuil a effectué, de 1942 à 1945, des recherches sur le terrain qui ont apporté sur l'antiquité de l'Homme dans ces régions des résultats de tout premier ordre.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

The Sanusi of Cyrenaica. *Summary of a communication by Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 15 June, 1946, to a Special Joint Meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute with the International African Institute.*

The history of the Sanusiya order was traced from its beginnings in Arabia and its settlement a century ago among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica, through its spread in North Africa and the Sudan, to its clash with European colonial imperialism, French, Italian, and British. The Italian conquest and colonization of Cyrenaica was described from the Italo-Turkish war of 1911-1912 to the third British occupation in 1942.

The paper was discussed by Mr. Paxton, Dr. Hilleison, Dr. Fortes, Mr. Braunholtz, Mr. Swanzy, and Dr. Tracy Phillips. Dr. Evans-Pritchard replied.

Devastation. *A communication by Sir John Myres, O.B.E., F.R.S., to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 24 September, 1946.*

This address was a counterpart to the author's essays on 'Nomadism' (*J.R.A.I.*, lxxi, 1941) and 'Mediterranean Culture' (Frazier Lecture, 1943). It examined all modes of life which result from the exploitation, and consequent exhaustion, of natural resources, including extinction of plants and animals, peoples, and cultures. 'Is there a criterion of *value* and *rightness* in these matters? Does the end justify the means? And is 'Man's Place in Nature' the proper concern of anthropology?'

The address is printed in full in Volume LXXIII of the *Journal* and is also obtainable separately from the Royal Anthropological Institute, price 2s. 6d.

Australian Native Policy in New Guinea. *Summary of a communication by Dr. Lucy P. Mura to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1 October, 1946.*

Australia's Pacific Territories comprise the eastern half of the island of New Guinea with the Bismarck Archipelago, the two northernmost of the Solomon Islands, and a great number of small islands. Papua was declared a British Protectorate in 1884, and Australia assumed full responsibility for its administration in 1906. The Mandated Territory (formerly German New Guinea) was occupied by Australia in 1914 and became an Australian mandate in 1921. The exterminated native populations above a million of whom about two-thirds are in the mandated area. Owing partly to difficulties of communication and partly to shortage of administrative staff, a large part of this area is still not effectively

controlled by the Government, and there are regions still unexplored.

The economic basis of both territories is large-scale enterprise employing native labour. The mandated territory produces copra and gold; Papua produces copra, rubber, and a little gold. The greater part of the labour supply is brought from a distance and is engaged on long-term contract. In Papua the total labour force in 1940 was 12,000. The normal period of contract was 18 months, and about 30 per cent. of the labourers were engaged on a short-term basis without a contract. In the mandated territory the number in employment rose from 30,000 to 40,000 between 1933 and 1939. This rapid increase was made possible only by constantly tapping new sources. Here the contract on first engagement had to be for three years, and it could be renewed for a further three years. The proportion of adult males away in employment in 1940 was 22 per cent.

In neither territory was any serious attempt made to develop any responsibility for local government among the natives. This is admittedly a difficult problem owing to the small size of the native political unit and the absence of any recognized line of succession to leadership. Native administration was based on benevolent coercion: village sanitation, the planting of coconuts, and other developments considered desirable were introduced by regulations carrying penalties for breach. Each territory had various native officials, but they were in effect merely agents of the administrative officer, responsible for reporting crimes and for seeing that his orders were carried out in his absence. A small beginning had been made with the appointment of native councils with purely deliberative functions, and Papua had attempted to train native court assessors.

Social services were rudimentary. Education in Papua was in the hands of missions, which received a small grant in aid calculated in proportion to the number of children passing examinations conducted by the Government. In the mandated territory missions were responsible, without subsidy or control, for village schools, while the Government maintained a few schools teaching English, and an agricultural training school taking 40 students a year. In both territories medical services reached mainly the native labourer, though each had a system of giving natives elementary training for medical work in the villages. In Papua native medical orderlies made patrols in the course of which they gave injections for yaws and might have cases of serious illness sent to hospital. The mandated territory system was to post a native with elementary first-aid training and a

supply of drugs in a village as a sort of rudimentary dispensary.

During the war the Gazelle Peninsula (New Britain), most of Bougainville and New Ireland, and parts of the northernmost coast of the New Guinea mainland were in enemy occupation for three years. During this time no native received any medical attention, and their food supplies were requisitioned. In those parts which were reconquered during the war, native villages were often totally destroyed by Allied bombardment. The cost of the war to the natives in the area which was not lost to the enemy was also high. Manpower was required, first for carrying supplies on the Kokoda trail, and later for building and stevedoring in connexion with the huge bases erected in many parts of New Guinea and for carrying in operational areas. The Papuan plantations were reopened as soon as it became clear that the Japanese had been finally repulsed. In addition a native combatant unit was formed. Service with this was voluntary, but all civilian labour was impressed on a two-year contract. Labour was recruited with complete ruthlessness. Some villages were left without a single effective male. It was common for 50 per cent. to be away, and the proportion rose in some villages to 67 per cent. Many of those absent were married men and fathers. Where military installations were built, native villages were moved and their coconut or sago palms cut down. Some lost their land permanently. Dysentery entered the Highlands, where it had previously been unknown.

Military administration also brought with it some advantages. Medical provision was greatly increased, the aim being to open one hospital, however rudimentary, for every 10,000 natives. An improved ration scale, based on scientific calculation, was introduced for all natives working for the army; the quantity of meat and fats was greater than in the previous regulation diet. This was not, however, supplied to natives working on plantations. A central training school was set up at Sogeri near Port Moresby with the aim of training teachers for the expansion of the school service.

Two institutions were established in Australia which eventually took a permanent form. One was the Directorate of Research and Civil Affairs, which was attached to army headquarters to advise on the problems of administration in New Guinea. This was succeeded by the Pacific Territories Research Council, which is to organize research in the territories and administer funds for the purpose. Under the auspices of the Directorate of Research a Civil Affairs School was opened which gave short courses of training to candidates for service in the administrative unit in New Guinea (Angau). The successor to this is the Australian School of Pacific Administration, which is to be incorporated in the National University at Canberra.

On the eve of the restoration of civil administration the

Minister for External Territories announced a native policy which involved the reduction of the term of labour contract and the eventual abolition of the indenture system; stricter control of recruiting; increases in the minimum wage and ration scale; and facilities for better health, better education, and greater participation of the natives in the wealth of the Territory and eventually in its government.

On the restoration of civil administration all labour contracts made with the army were cancelled and natives were offered the option of returning home or making civil contracts. The great majority returned home, and plantation production was at a standstill for some time. This exacerbated opposition to a policy which is locally interpreted as designed to create hostility between natives and Europeans and to strangle private enterprise.

Nevertheless, some constructive work has been done and plans are being made for much more. A Native Labour Department has been created and is supervising the enforcement of the new conditions. New Directors of Health, Education, and Agriculture have been appointed, and the estimates include provision for two Government Anthropologists. The army hospitals have been taken over, and a large expansion of medical personnel is planned, with a training school for natives in New Guinea. Six natives are to be sent to the Suva Medical School, Fiji. The Director of Agriculture has ambitious schemes for the encouragement of native production, for which money has been voted. Educational plans are not so far advanced, but the Labour Department is training artisans and special courses are being held at Sogeri for the native police.

Ordinances providing for the creation of native courts and councils with very limited powers are under consideration. The Highland area has been made into a separate district from which recruiting for work in malarial areas, as in the past, will be prohibited. A war compensation scheme has been approved which will make it possible to devote to reconstruction in New Guinea funds more substantial than Parliament would ever have been likely to vote as an ordinary subsidy to the cost of administration. Only a few specific items of expenditure from this fund have so far been announced. These include a campaign for the eradication of dysentery from the Highlands and the rebuilding of the native village at Port Moresby, which had to be evacuated during the war.

Circles opposed to this new policy had hoped that it might be reversed if the Government were defeated in the general election of September, 1946. They also believe that there may be a change when the term of the present régime, which was established as a Provisional Administration, expires on 1 December, 1946. It seems unlikely however that the transition to a permanent régime will involve radical changes in personnel or policy.

SHORTER NOTES

Anthropological Studies in Turkey

22 Dr. Nermun Aygen, of the University of Ankara, a pupil of Professor Seyket Aziz Kansu, has published a *Research on the blood-groups of Turkey, and on the correlation of these groups with anthropological characters* (Ankara University Faculty of History and Geography, Ref. No. 50, 1946), based on observations of

500 soldiers of the Presidential Guard at Ankara. The Beth-Vincent method was used. No definite correlation was found between blood-group types and racial physical characters: cephalic index, stature, nasal index, facial index, or colour of eyes, hair, or skin. Though in Anatolia blood-group A went mostly with the Dinaric type, and blood-type O with the Alpine type, this is not

supported by correlations in Europe. But though there is no sign that blood-groups give any basis for the biological classification of present-day men, they may nevertheless have anthropological value. The geographical distribution of blood-groups within Anatolia shows all regions rich in blood-type A1; but there are regional differences which deserve examination on a larger scale, though it cannot give information about the early history of the inhabitants. Consequently, the racial classifications proposed by Hirschfeld, Ottenberg, and Snyder must be abandoned. The high percentage of blood-group O in isolated regions should not be considered as a sign of racial purity; the Yürüks, for example, though registering a high percentage of O, are anthropologically mixed. Mutation should not be given a place *per se* in considering the sources of blood-groups.

The thesis, written in Turkish, has a valuable distribution-map, comparative table of blood-groups, full bibliography, and a summary in English. J. L. MYRES

Problems of Communal Life. *A conference on the ethical and scientific approach, convened by the British Social Hygiene Council in association with the Editor of 'Nature,' 4-5 July, 1946*

The main interest in this conference lies not so much in any new contributions made, but in the fact that all the principal speakers accepted without comment the statement in the preamble that 'Science and Theology each have their contribution to make. Each must recognize the contribution which the other has to make, if the "gigantic problems which confront us are to be solved."' The audience, largely educationalists and welfare workers with a sprinkling of young members of the services, accepted this premise, showing how far opinion has travelled since the days of the Huxley and Wace controversy.

In the 'Search for a Synthesis,' Professor Dingle (History of Science, University College) and Professor A. V. Hill both contributed on ethics and scientific research.

Under 'Social Conditions and Human Behaviour' Dr. Scott-Williamson gave an account of the Peckham Centre. The work of the centre is well known, but the problem posed, and the conclusions arrived at, should give the social anthropologists something to think about. Given a cross-section of urban population, and free access to an environment where all the material needed for recreation and leisure of the types normally practised by those sections of society was provided, but no instruction or leadership, what were the immediate and the ultimate results? One would scarcely have expected the first nine months to be passed in a state of hysteria, when most of the material was destroyed; when though the meal was served *tout rôti*, this cross-section of normal urban population did not know how to eat! During the next three months form began to appear, and by the end of the first year, though the formation of societies and the formal recognition of leaders was discouraged, communal activities were thriving, orchestras and dramatic performances taking place as well as the usual athletic activities. The gestation period, though costly in material, was doubtless valuable in experience; certainly a social organization had appeared and it would be interesting to know how long its informal nature would last.

A most illuminating paper on the 'Aim of the Community in terms of Population, its Quality and Distribution' was given by Mr. Caradog Jones, in which world

population was considered. The net population of England before 1939 was such that, assuming the birth and death rates to remain constant, the population would be reduced to one half in 90 years with a high percentage over 60 and a low percentage under 15 years of age. It was not possible to estimate yet how far, if at all, the recent increase in births would affect the rate, nor to what this change was due, as so far there had been no change in the social and economic conditions or the psychological outlook. B. Z. SELIGMAN

A Classification of Folk-tales

24 In 1945 the president of the Sociedade Brasileira de Folk-Lore, dom Lus da Camara Cascudo, published a scheme of classification for folk-tales intended not merely to cover the Brazilian material but for international use. Senhor da Camara's scheme—

1. tales of enchantment and the marvellous;
2. exemplary and moral tales; folk-novels;
3. religious tales (characterized by divine intervention, and distinguished from 'legends' by not being localized);
4. aetiological tales accounting for natural phenomena;
5. riddling tales;
6. cumulative tales, formula tales, chain-tales, endless tales and tongue-twisters;
7. facetious tales;
8. tales of nature denouncing crime;
9. tales of the devil outwitted;
10. the Death cycle

-- while perhaps more logical and more comprehensive than the classification suggested in *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (1929, pp. 327-9), has also some surprising omissions. It provides no place for folk-history, folk-biography, or hero-tales; and, limiting 'aetiological' tales to those which 'explain the origin of an aspect, form, habit or disposition of an animal, vegetable, or mineral,' it excludes the most important of aetiologies, viz. the justificatory myths of rites, customs, and institutions. Class 6 is a useful one, covering, apparently, all tales where the interest lies in form rather than in substance, and 'formula tales' might be a convenient title. BARBARA AITKEN

Colonial Research Fellowships

25 The Secretary of State, on the advice of the Colonial Research Committee, has instituted a number of Colonial Research Fellowships to encourage qualified scientists to give special attention to Colonial problems and to enable them to pursue research work in the British Colonial Empire. Provision has been made for 25 such Fellowships within the period 1944-1949, but it is hoped the interest promoted by the scheme will ultimately justify its becoming a permanent institution.

2. The award of these Fellowships will be made by the Secretary of State on the advice of the Colonial Research Committee. The Secretary of State hopes that the Universities and other institutions will be willing to grant applicants, if already members of their staffs, leave of absence for this period in order to enable them to take up the Fellowships.

QUALIFICATIONS OF APPLICANTS

3. The Fellowships will normally be reserved for University graduates in the natural or social sciences,

under 35 years of age, from any part of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Candidates must already have had experience of research and must give evidence that they have the ability to plan and prosecute investigations of a high quality without close and constant supervision. The plan of research submitted should be reasonable and concise and should indicate clearly the nature of the problem which the candidate wishes to investigate. In choosing the subject the candidate should bear in mind its relevance to Colonial development and whether or not the facilities required do, in fact, exist in the region chosen.

TERMS OF AWARD

4. Fellowships will be tenable for a period of two years, provided that the Fellow's report from his supervisor at the end of the first year is satisfactory, and may be extended for a third year at the discretion of the Secretary of State.

5. Fellowships will be tenable in the British Colonial Empire only and not in the United Kingdom, the Dominions, or India. Under special circumstances arrangements may be made for a short period of work in the United Kingdom, but it should be noted that these Fellowships are intended primarily for original field work and not for advanced study. Where practicable, Fellows will be attached to centres of higher education in the Colonies and may be required to give occasional lectures of general interest on their subject for the benefit of students attending at their centres.

6. During his tenure a Fellow will be responsible to a supervisor or supervisory committee selected by the Secretary of State. If the supervisor is not resident in the territory visited, the Secretary of State may appoint,

in consultation with him, a deputy supervisor in that territory or in a neighbouring territory.

7. The Fellow shall submit through his supervisor a concise progress report at the end of each year of his tenure and a field report of his researches within a reasonable time on the completion of his tenure.

8. Fellowships carry remuneration at the rate of £400 per annum, which may be increased to a sum not exceeding £750 per annum if the Fellow is married or in any other appropriate circumstances. Travelling expenses and the cost of any apparatus or material required for the Fellow's research will also be provided. Where a Fellow is a member of a superannuation scheme in which his employer pays part of the contributions, the Secretary of State will, if necessary, also accept responsibility for the payment of the employer's contributions for the duration of the Fellowship. The basic allowance is not subject to United Kingdom income tax if the period spent overseas covers a full fiscal year. It should be noted that in other circumstances the Fellow may become liable to assessment in the normal manner.

9. Grant of a Fellowship carries no guarantee of future employment, but satisfactory performance by a Colonial Fellow will be given due weight as a recommendation if application is later made for official appointment in the Colonies.

10. The award will be conditional on the candidate being certified medically fit for the type of work to be undertaken. Application forms can be obtained from and should be addressed in the first instance to the Secretary, Colonial Research Committee, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, London, S.W.1.

Colonial Office (Misc. 509A), May, 1946

This announcement is repeated here because the remuneration has been considerably increased by Clause 8.

REVIEWS

Readers of MAN are asked to note that, owing to war-time causes, such as the late receipt in the Royal Anthropological Institute for review of certain works published overseas in recent years, some reviews may continue to appear, for a time, in arrears.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND ALLIED SUBJECTS

Scotland before the Scots. By V. Gordon Childe. London, Methuen, 1946. Pp. vii, 144, 24 illustrations in text, and 16 plates. Price 12s. 6d.

In 1927 the University of Edinburgh appointed Gordon Childe, already a prehistorian with a European reputation, to be the first holder of a Chair of Prehistoric Archaeology. Eight years later he published *The Prehistory of Scotland*, in which for the first time Scottish archaeology was viewed from a European standpoint. Now, at the conclusion of nearly twenty years' distinguished tenure of the Abererromby Chair, Professor Childe has produced this valedictory postscript to his earlier work. The book is essentially divided into two unequal parts, the final third consisting of a series of Appendices presenting, in closely reasoned argument or in tabular form, the objective evidence on which a study of Scottish prehistory must be based, and the technical problems involved in fitting this into a coherent chronological framework. It is this thirty pages of small type that constitutes the essential footnotes needed to bring his earlier book up to date, and all workers will be grateful for this permanent classified record of fact. The appendix on chronology is almost despondently cautious, with even the segmented faience beads suspect in a very uncertain world where no apparent parallelism or association is trusted. The whole of this portion makes a very valuable contribution to Scottish prehistory.

On the main text of the book, however, which constituted the Rhind Lectures for 1944, it is not possible to comment without criticism of a rather serious kind. In the Preface Professor Childe states his intention: to interpret the Scottish evidence on the lines of the Soviet archaeologists whose 'applications of Marxism to prehistory have produced narratives that seem more historical' than those of what one supposes these writers would call 'bourgeois' prehistorians. From the viewpoint, therefore, of Morgan as interpreted by Engels and as adapted by the authoritarian régime of contemporary Russia, we are invited to examine the material evidence of prehistoric Scotland. It cannot be said that the result is successful. 'Primitive communism' is needed by the Marxist argument as an early stage in human culture—Skara Brae is used to provide this, but this also necessitates the corollary that the contemporary megalithic chambered tombs must be the collective burial places of the common people, and in no sense the family vaults in a ruling class. Skara Brae is remarkable in many ways—its stone versions of carpentry and its large-scale excavation so admirably conducted by Professor Childe himself. But it is remarkable in other ways—it represents a poverty-stricken culture in a remote northern island, and can hardly be representative of the whole Neolithic of Britain, while the control that the means of subsistence and the occupational pattern of a people imposes upon a community must be remembered. To say

(p. 25) that the Skara Brae culture is 'more typically Neolithic than the Megalithic' is really a meaningless use of words: to say 'I shall assume that each chambered cairn was the communal burying-place of a clan or enlarged family' of a primitive communist society (p. 38), and yet claim that 'no patriarchal family commanded the man-power' to build a small Iron Age fort, 'the castle of a chief' (p. 89), involves an inconsistency of thought difficult to resolve. One has the uneasy feeling that the controlling factor behind these statements was not a consideration of the proportionate labour in building Maes Howe or Rahoy, but the fact that one was chronologically Neolithic (and so communist), the other Iron Age (with capitalistic bosses). And when Professor Childe has to say apologetically that 'it cannot be un-Marxist to assert' that cultivated grains were introduced into Scotland (p. 24), one can only feel sorry that he should be concerned one way or the other in the matter. What really is important, surely, is whether or not the view represents a reasonable, fair, scientific interpretation of the facts. It is very unfortunate that such a viewpoint is sustained throughout this part of the book.

Such a presentation of prehistory, however tiresome we may feel it to be, will not diminish the stature of Professor Childe among his colleagues, who know too well the scholarship and wide erudition which he behind his massive achievements in their study, and his views may indeed act as an irritant valuable in itself for provoking new attacks on old problems. Yet this book may serve, unfortunately, to discredit prehistoric studies in the eyes of those who are not archaeologists but who value the liberal tradition in scholarship and are vigilant of any encroachment on the freedom of scientific thought by totalitarian ideologies.

STUART PIGGOTT

Sumerian Mythology. By S. N. Kramer. *Memoir of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. XXI.* 1944. Philadelphia. Pp. xi, 125. Illustrated. Price \$2.

There are, the author tells us, probably at least a quarter of a million Sumerian tablets and fragments in museums and private collections. Of these 95 per cent. are economic, consisting of contracts, receipts, wills, etc. Of the minority, a large number are building inscriptions, lexical and mathematical texts, and incantations. There remain about 3,000 tablets inscribed with epics and myths, hymns, lamentations, proverbs, and 'words of wisdom.' Many of these in Western Europe and America, including the very large collection in the University Museum at Philadelphia, have been published. The author began by making an intensive study of the last-mentioned collection, and later, with the aid of a Guggenheim fellowship, he spent twenty months at Stamboul, copying the tablets in the hitherto unpublished collection in the Museum of the Ancient Orient. He has been able to bring a good deal of new material to light, and by bringing together detached fragments of the same tablets, and by collating different versions of the same themes, he believes that he is now in a position 'to lay the groundwork for a study of 'Sumerian culture, especially in its more spiritual aspects.' The present volume is intended as an introduction to a series of seven volumes, which will cover the whole field of Sumerian religious and poetical literature.

The material contained in the present volume is of very great interest. After a general survey of the subject, the author outlines the nine chief mythological poems, and gives a literal translation of long extracts. They include the Creation and Organization of the Universe, the Slaying of the Dragon, Inanna's Descent to the Nether World, and 'Inanna 'Peters the Farmer, a precursor of the Cain and Abel myth.

The work gives every indication of having been carried out in a thoroughly competent and conscientious manner, and it is much to be hoped that the author will be able to complete the task which he has set himself.

It seems strange that with all his learning he seems never to have heard of the work which has been done by Professor Hooke and other distinguished scholars on the myth and ritual pattern of the Ancient East. For him the myths are 'sacred' stories evolved and developed in an effort to explain the

'origin of the universe,' etc. (p. 29), and he therefore fails to understand why, for example, the city of Nippur 'seems to have been conceived as having existed before the creation of man' (p. 43).

The illustrations include photographs of mythological tablets, some of these reassembled by the author, and some interesting seals.

Sir Henry Rawlinson, it may be noted, was not 'a member of the English Intelligence Service' (p. 3), a non-existent body, but was an officer in the East India Company's forces who became British Consul at Baghdad, and later Minister to Persia.

RAGLAN

El Hombre Primitivo y su Cultura. By Pedro Bosch Gimpera. *Biblioteca Enciclopedia Popular* 48. *Secretaría de Educación Pública, Mexico.* 1945. Pp. 95. (52 weekly numbers of the series, price \$5.00)

Don Pedro Bosch Gimpera has enriched this popular series with an attractive, concise, and clear sketch of primitive culture which will be appreciated by readers in more countries than the Republic of Mexico. Naturally, a work of this scope condensed into 95 pages must risk the charge of dogmatism, here and there, for want of room to discuss rival theories. Thus the author 'plumps' for the basketry origin of Neolithic pottery (p. 45) and the domestication of wild wheat in North Syria, Northern Mesopotamia, and the Nile Valley with no mention of Vavilov and the Abyssinian claim (p. 48); draws a rather surprising antithesis between 'hoe agriculture' and 'village agriculture' without attempting to date the early plough (p. 49). He concurs with Leeds in the probability of an Iberian origin for the Megalithic culture (p. 64), where a few lines might have been spared for the theories of its eastern, North European, or African development.

Limitations of space, again, must excuse a highly dogmatic treatment of religious and social development. Hunting—war—wife capture—slavery (p. 28); animism—hunting magic—defensive magic—shamans—guardian spirits—secret societies—totemism (pp. 29, 30, 31): it is all very logical, but the facts of archaeological evidence are not always distinguishable from the author's inferences. The bisons of the Tuc d'Audoubert are 'not mere totems but guardian spirits or 'divinities' (p. 35); why the one or the other? Female figurines are 'fertility divinities,' and the male figure of Cogul—a modest little dancer, to all appearance—becomes 'undoubtedly the *genius* of reproduction.'

Surprisingly little space—three pages under 'Marginal 'Zones'—has been allowed to the evidence from America, nor does the author emphasize the truly revolutionary effect of the Folsom and Sandia discoveries. But in addressing an American public already sufficiently impressed with the importance of its own New World prehistory, it was judicious to redress the balance by bringing in the vast preponderance of the Old.

BARBARA AITKEN

Dating the Past: An Introduction to Geochronology. By Frederick E. Zeuner. London Methuen and Co. 1946. Pp. viii, 444. Pl. xiv. Price 30s.

Read as a preliminary report this book is interesting and suggestive, and, after all, science is a matter of preliminary reports! Tree-rings help to give dates back to A.D. 4000 in U.S.A. and allow rough estimates as far as about 1000 B.C. in California, and they can be used to date buildings in which wood is incorporated. Varves, the annual deposits in quiet melt-water, give general estimates to 13,000 B.C. in Sweden, while in North America a less widely accepted count goes to about 34,000 B.C., and remains of varves have been found even in Pre-Cambrian deposits, so one may some day get ideas of duration of very ancient phases of climate, the eleven-year sun-spot-cycle being claimed for some of these ancient times. Varves also help to date peat-beds and raised beaches, and with pollen analysis to help, knowledge is being well and truly built up concerning the chronology of the Pleistocene and its climatic variations. The Milankovitch calculations of periods of minimal summer radiation in various latitudes are used to take dating back to about 600,000 B.C. It will be appreciated that some students of the Pleistocene doubt the theory of cool summers as factors of ice ages, but the evidence seems to

tend towards that theory at present, and both the sequence of ice advances and Deperet's Mediterranean coastal terraces are fitted into it. One can foresee revisions of this fitting likely to occur here and there, now that there is a scheme to use as a basis of discussion. The discussion of the Palaeolithic age in connection with all this is highly suggestive. Part IV, finally, takes up the results of dating by study of radioactivity and carries estimates to 1,500 million years ago. There is some reference to rates of evolution, and it is hoped that a future edition will be able to take account of the views in *Tempo and Mode in Evolution* by George G. Simpson.

H. J. FLEURE

Tempo and Mode in Evolution. By George Gaylord Simpson. New York, 1944. Columbia Biological Series, No. XV. Pp. xcvii, 237.

30 The author is a paleontologist much impressed by modern work in genetics. He studies evolutionary rates, under natural conditions, from sequences of change in fossil horses, ammonites, bivalves, etc. This brings out almost certainly genetic relationships between variates, e.g. skull proportions in fossil mammals are often linked with sizes reached by adults. Rates of evolution may change suddenly and rates of evolution of two characters in the same group may

change independently. Two groups of common ancestry—and this is most important—may become differentiated by differences in rates of evolution of different characters, without any marked qualitative differences, or differences in evolution. Space forbids further expansion on the questions of animal biology in this interesting and suggestive essay, but the above carry hints for the student of man. The author thinks the higher apes and man have evolved at more than an average rate; and man's breeding customs must tend to increase variability, but apparently calculations of variability in homologous characters show nothing unusual. The fundamental character that distinguishes men from apes, and that has different skull characters as a corollary, is not so much the larger brain, in itself, as the different growth pattern from which both a larger brain and a different skull result. This fact of growth pattern, mentioned repeatedly by the author, is one on which students of physical anthropology need to meditate. We get clues to the evolution of *homo sapiens* rather from young, often female, skulls of ancient types than from the full-grown males. The *Steinheim* skull is more enlightening than that of, for example, *La Chapelle aux Saints*, for this particular purpose. And we can get at least glimpses of change of growth pattern by comparing some of the Aurignacian and Magdalenian skulls with those of our contemporaries.

H. J. FLEURE

INDIA

The Chenchus. By Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf, Ph.D. With Foreword by W. V. Grigson, and Administrative Notes by R. M. Crofton. London: Macmillan, 1943. Pp. xvi, 391. Illustrations, Map. Price Rs.20.

31 This is the first of a series of monographs to be written by Baron von Furer-Haimendorf on the aboriginal tribes of Hyderabad, to be published under the auspices of H.E.H. The Nizam's Government.

The Chenchus live on the wooded plateaux through which the Kistna flows to form the southern boundary of Hyderabad State. The author deals chiefly with those who live in this State, though he includes some notes on those who live in the adjacent district of Kurnool, in the Madras Presidency. The Chenchus subsist chiefly on wild tubers and fruits, and on animals killed by hunting with bows and arrows, but also own a few cattle. Apart from some who live on the lower slopes, and are partly Hinduized, they do very little in the way of cultivation. It is remarkable that though they are not very successful hunters, and are often short of food, they know nothing of traps and snares. In this and some other respects they resemble the Veddas.

They are organized in exogamous clans, but these clans have no function other than to regulate marriage, and the principal integrating force is the local kin-group. When the author first went among the Chenchus, he was assured that such a dreadful crime as a breach of the rules of exogamy was unheard of. Soon afterwards he found that such a breach had just occurred, and was then assured that the offenders would be severely punished. But though there was much talk, nothing was done, and the author later came across several other cases. The trouble comes when the children reach marriageable age, as their cross-cousins are of course of their own clan.

In his description of weddings, the author says nothing of the arrow ceremony, which is, according to Thurston (*Ethnographical Notes*, p. 34), a prominent feature.

The Chenchus are remarkably free from superstitions. For example, there are no taboos of any kind on menstruous women. Their principal deity is an earth-goddess, to whom they offer portions of animals killed in hunting and first fruits of wild plants. Other elements in their religion are in some cases possibly and in others certainly of Hindu origin. They have no language of their own, but speak a dialect of Telugu.

There is much of great interest in the book, which is admirably illustrated with 78 excellent photographs. Mr. W. V. Grigson contributes a Foreword on the administrative history of the jungle tribes, and an Appendix gives particulars

of the Chenchu Reserve which has now been established, largely as a result of the author's reports.

RAGLAN

The Sikhs in relation to Hindus, Moslems, & Amadiyyas: A Study in Comparative Religion. By John Clark Archer, Princeton University Press, 1946. (O.U.P.) Pp. xi, 353. Price, 83/5.

32 There can be no doubt of the author's equipment in linguistic scholarship for writing this book. His account of the origins of Sikhism as a separate religious system from its beginnings until now, and of the relations, sometimes of antagonism and, with special interest of late, of approaches to friendliness, towards Moslems and Mohammedanism is eminently trustworthy. Some of his readers, moreover, will be inclined to connect these approaches with the tremendously important problem at this moment of Indian self-government, and the possible organization of that great country under a friendly co-operation of Moslem and Hindu, who would place their religious differences on a plane of mutual toleration, as, for example, Protestant and Catholic have done in the professedly Christian countries. The advance to this ideal may reasonably be held to be strengthened by the account here given of Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, and of his indebtedness to Kabir, who, born a generation earlier and a contemporary with him at the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D., was a leader of Moslem thought in a theism which was vaguely mystical and pantheistic. The character of Nanak's teaching may be gathered from a verse which was given to him in what was perhaps his supreme experience of inspiration when God commissioned him to 'repeat the Name', to inspire others also to repeat it, and to teach all mankind 'the true religion.' It was then that Nanak uttered the *mool mantra*, or 'basic text' of Sikhism, namely:

One, the essential One, True Name,

Doer, pervader, fearless, without enmity,

Figure of timelessness, self-existent, the kindly guide, Praise!

Primeval truth, ageless truth, the actual truth,

The truth, O Nanak, which can never fade.

The three principles in which the author sums up the Sikh religion and its relation to other faiths are recognition, that is, of the right of each to its own beliefs; devotion, reverent communion with *Sat Nam*, above all as the source of truth and inspiration; and co-operation or the ideal of brotherhood towards all men. These sound admirably broad and reasonable; but as Sikhism is here put forward as one of the reconciling forces in this tremendous time of change, note

must be taken of such primitive elements as the worship of the *Granth*, the book of Nanak's sayings, together with those of certain *Gurus* or teachers who succeeded him, giving to it a certain aura of personality, so that it is called the *Granth Sahib*, and such as that one of the magnificent photographs which adorn the book in which a powerful 'soldier devotee' holds to his breast an extremely workmanlike scimitar—no mean reminder that war has been one of the methods of conversion used by the Sikhs. It must be added that the conception of Deity presented by Nanak is strikingly vague, and the vagueness is intentional, as, though he calls the being he worships *Sat Nam*, True Name, this seems designed to keep him nameless. It is enough that he is truth, and to know him is the essence of religion. There is a further approach to personality in thinking of him as the *Guru*, the Teacher, who wills that Nanak shall know him, is 'the kindly guide,' and shares with him a cup of nectar; and indeed a love-relation with the worshipper is not far distant. Nevertheless, the present writer finds it significant that the conception of deity here put forward is archaic and primitive; for one is struck with the resemblance of *Sat Nam* to the superior spirit, for example, who is represented by the 'old men' as present in the Great House and morally authoritative in the initiations of the youth of certain New Guinea tribes by way of their education for life; and it is an important fact that we are here confronted with the stage in human thought and religion which had been reached by the tribal savage whose Animism, belief in mysterious powers, imaged as breath-like, mist-like, and so naturally named 'spirits,' was his nearest approach to religious faith then and anywhere in the world.

These primitive and archaic characteristics of the Sikh religion render exceedingly doubtful the possibility that the solution of the problems set by the present age to man's deepest thought and wisest practical endeavour will be found in it; and this may become evident if one sets alongside one another a period of revolutionary change which occurred some three or four thousand years before the birth of Nanak, on the one hand, and on the other, the present age in which we live. Dr Gordon Childe was the first to observe the immense change which was made in human life and destiny by the passing of the age in which tribalism was universal, and the coming of the era of modern civilization, and to

connect this revolution with the discovery of the domestication of grain and of flocks and herds, and the spread of farming, shepherding, and cattle-rearing over wide areas of the ancient world. Out of this arose the great ancient civilizations, the empires and smaller communities formed of peoples who had means, resources, time, and leisure to pause for reflective thought. The epoch-making result was the emergence of what we call the Civilized Mind as contrasted with the way of thinking still native to the animistic tribal savage in many parts of the world. Thus it came to pass that in the great river basins of the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Indian peninsula, and in the pastoral lands of central Asia and the Near East, among shepherds and cattle-rearers, mankind had power and opportunity for sustained thought, organized his activities in trade, commerce, and large-scale operations on their necessary ethical basis, while at the same time he anthropomorphized, exalted, and purified his ideas of the beings of his worship—in all which he was acquiring the religions, philosophies, scientific knowledge, and organs of culture and power which are the heritage of civilized humanity in this age.

It is an age which is bringing forth a further synthesis in a tremendous, heart-shaking, and yet exhilarating sense. Mankind has entered upon the enterprise of world-government to avert the immeasurable destruction of future wars, to supply its needs as one family by pooling its resources and, by a policy (so to say) of self-sacrifice, to eliminate the distress of the poorer members; knowledge scientific and other is increasingly human and humane, and the common man in all the nations is more and more the heir of all the ages. The civilized mind whose emergence from tribal savagery and animism we have traced to the agricultural revolution, is moving forward along the line of its three characteristic powers, to wider and deeper ranges of abstraction and philosophy, to wiser and more sensitive types of ethical judgment and moral idealism, and to a re-estimate of the human individual and an expansion of individuality in all nations and countries of the world. The part to be played in these movements by Christianity and the Christian Church, and in particular the relating of them to the faiths, philosophies, and ethical ideals of India, is beyond our scope here.

JOHN MURPHY

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Les Fondements Biologiques de la Géographie Humaine.

33 By Mar Sorre. Paris. Librairie Armand Colin. 1943. Pp. 449 with 31 illustrations. Price not given.

Sorre is concerned first of all with climate and man. Heat generation is needed if temperature is below 16 deg. C., and cooling becomes important above 23 deg. C. Penetration of a moderate quantity of actinic rays into the skin promotes formation of vitamin D, excess causes histolytic troubles. The darkest skins are found usually where this radiation is strongest and most continuous, in dry areas near the tropical lines, but dark skins are at a disadvantage in cool, wet latitudes, especially in foggy situations. Fog withdraws much the same quantity of radiation on its way to the earth whatever the latitude, so in high latitudes it may leave very little to the earth and the people walking on it. Sweat gland ducts are 25 to 30 per cent. more numerous in hot climates with a wet season than in temperate zones, and the duct openings are relatively large and loose. The West African needs to drink a great deal and is very uncomfortable when the atmosphere is too moist for his sweat glands to act freely. Sorre emphasizes, throughout, the imperfections of our knowledge and the need for physiological research, which would have much bearing on social studies. The fair European between the tropics is liable to a phase of super-activity of the skin, followed by lowering of the pulse and general lassitude, craving for stimulants and so on; in many cases his birth-rate diminishes dangerously. The brunet South European, on the other hand, acclimatizes himself to heat more readily and he and his mongrelized descendants keep up a high birth-rate and thus tend to increase their proportion in the total

population relatively to the completely non-European elements. Of course, a great deal depends on standards of cleanliness and on resistance to epidemics and debilitating indulgences. And transplantation of peoples has many effects on growth, as the Africans transplanted into the West Indies show by various refinements of form. Sorre's book is to be looked upon primarily as a suggestive essay, with the emphasis placed upon questions of food and health rather than upon social evolution and diffusion of culture. It is stimulating, and here and there annoying, when one feels the limitation of short statements on great subjects. The problems of social maintenance in relation to soil conservation could have had more attention, but the author's concern is with human biological rather than with social factors.

H. J. FLEURE

Race and Democratic Society. By Franz Boas. New York, Augustin. 1945. Pp. 219. Price \$2.50.

34 Boas was wont to speak his thoughts with courage that arose from assured knowledge and integrity, and he was too strong a personality to be dismissed for unpopular opinions. He pleaded for the coloured citizens of U.S.A., for the Jews, for the East Asiatics of the west side of North America, for international understanding and the checking of group-power, for freedom of thought and expression. These chapters are mostly extended summaries of lectures and addresses to lay audiences, and one can find inconsistencies that might be ironed out if longer treatment were available. Boas steadfastly urged the modern view that a scheme of genetic subdivision of mankind would be a scientific folly,

but that groups here and there with sufficient inbreeding show considerable uniformity of physique. He emphasized the importance of upbringing and cultural tradition in moulding manners and outlook, and argued against race as an influence on mentality, again save in special groups. Sometimes he pleads for the thoughts and aspirations of the common man against the almost unconscious prejudices of the intellectuals, but sometimes he attacks the common man's objection to his coloured or his Asiatic neighbour. Altogether this book is a key to a famous mind as well as an armoury for the lecturer who tries to fight race-hatred.

H. J. FLEURE

The Navaho Door. By Alexander H. Leighton and Dorothea C. Leighton; Foreword by John Collier. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. (London: Humphrey Milford, O.U.P.) 1944. Pp. xviii, 149, with 36 plates. Price \$4.00; 22s. 6d.

During the past fifteen years the official Indian policy of the United States has undergone a radical reorientation. Whereas the former goal was immediate deculturation and absorption, emphasis is now placed on the safeguarding or reintegration of those values in tribal life most likely to restore the Indian's self-confidence and to encourage him to co-operate fully in the working out of his destiny. Much has been and is being done in the way of legal incorporation of tribes, the provision of revolving credits for tribal enterprises, development and marketing of handicrafts, education in the vernaculars as well as English, and the securing to the Indian of that liberty of belief which is the right of all other United States citizens. Obviously such a programme calls for clear understanding of the many varied culture patterns thus to be protected and built upon, and equally obviously the administrator must have recourse to the anthropologist for their interpretation.

Applied anthropology is the keynote of this book. Subtitled 'An Introduction to Navaho Life,' it is intended primarily for workers in the Indian Service but deserves the

attention of a much wider public. Both the authors are physicians and concentrate, after a concise summary of Navaho history and present cultural and economic status, on problems of health and disease. The fact that these are themselves the chief preoccupation of Navaho religion can, in the Leightons' view, be turned to advantage by Indian Service doctors and nurses. Three chapters are devoted to specimen explanations of given diseases and treatments, and general hygiene, in terms intelligible to the average Navaho. An interesting suggestion is that the sacred number, four, should be utilized in treatment, as for instance in the prescribing of four doses a day, hospitalization reckoned in units of four days, and so on. Recognizing that the native healers and diagnosticians are often among the most intelligent members of the community, the authors recommend efforts to win their interest and sympathy, and would not discourage the holding of native curing ceremonies, where these involve no excessive strain on the patient, as an adjunct to orthodox medical practice.

Three brief life-stories—of a singer (healer), a practitioner of the 'hand-trembling' technique of diagnosis, and an average woman—are a useful feature of the book, as is a list of the commoner kinship-terms designed to help the field-worker in tracing family relationships. In the map entitled 'Areas of Indian Cultures in the U.S.' it might perhaps have been made clear to the layman that the superimposed tribal locations refer to the reservation period, and do not in every case indicate the habitat of a group at the time when the culture areas were of full significance.

The book is informed throughout by a spirit at once humane and practical. Its approach may be less novel in some other parts of the world where Europeans have assumed responsibility for native affairs, but it reflects a policy which in the United States has been achieved only in the face of strong and continuing vested opposition. It is urgently to be hoped that recent political changes in Washington may not endanger it.

GEOFFREY TURNER

CORRESPONDENCE

Selection of Headmen among the Red Karens, Burma

36 SIR.—I should be interested to know if any of your readers could throw light on an interesting custom which came to the notice of myself and brother officers in the course of military duty in Burma. It appears that among the Gekhu tribe of the Red Karens a kind of 'selection board test' is traditionally undergone by any candidate for village headman or corresponding minor official's post.

He must leave his village and go to live for a period of several weeks in isolation on the summit of the highest mountain of his district—the abode of the 'Nats' or tribal spirits—named 'Nat-tawng,' which is situated a few miles south of the Mawchi Road and fifty miles east of Toungoo. He takes with him only his *dah*: and a virgin from the village is his sole companion for the duration of the test. This girl must be of a relationship such that the couple are not marriageable according to Red Karen marriage-laws. It is not difficult to find such a 'relation,' and almost any girl may receive an invitation.

She brings with her a gram of rice in its green state, which must be placed under the man's pillow at night. The couple must build a house and find their own food without outside help. They may not descend from their jungle-covered mountain until the rice has germinated. They then return to the village, when the man must show the girl to her mother and prove her to be still a virgin. He is then acclaimed a successful candidate.

Karens record that few have been willing to undergo this test in modern years. It would be interesting to know if its explanation may lie in a fertility rite involving transference of life-stuff from the man to the rice grain: a procedure incompatible for the nonce with sexual intercourse; which perhaps symbolizes his future duty to the community.

Trinity Hall, Cambridge

A. W. R. COOMBER

Feminine Disabilities. Cf. MAN, 1946, 94-95

37 SIR.—Many features of grammatical gender are extremely puzzling, but it does not seem to me that Mr. Fitzgerald throws any light on the subject when he alleges that the sun is regarded as feminine by the Hausas because it is 'the normal stable environment,' and by the Germans because it is a nice change.

Mr. Fitzgerald waxes sarcastic over the potter's wheel, but seems unaware that the 'pottery industry' in Germany dates only from the seventeenth century.

He concludes by assuring us that 'customs have a disconcerting habit of starting in a purely utilitarian manner.' If people always started by being sensible, and got sillier as they went on, it would indeed be disconcerting.

RAGLAN

Yiddish. Cf. MAN, 1945, 54

38 SIR.—In the very interesting article by S. E. Mann on 'Language Problems in Post-War Europe' (MAN, 1945, 54) there is a significant omission. The Yiddish language is not mentioned, although it numbers many more speakers than most of the languages discussed—the pre-war figure was about nine million for Europe only—and in spite of the fact that it is the vehicle of a rich and extensive literature both ancient and modern.

But perhaps it does occur in the article after all. Among the languages which may be heard spoken in Uzhorod, the capital of Ruthenia, Hebrew is mentioned. As the mother tongue of the Jews in that country is Yiddish, the word *Hebrew* would appear to be a mistranslation from Russian, where *Yevreyski* means 'Jewish' and 'Yiddish.'

S. A. BIRNBAUM

Artificial Deformation of Ox-horns in Southern Sudan*(Illustrated)*

39 STR.—This photograph of a Didinga ox, belonging to the late Mr. G. O. Whitehead's collection of papers and photographs, and taken, I believe, by Mr. Richardson of the Sudan Political Service, shows the artificial deformation



of the horns found among other Nilo-Hamitic peoples of the Southern Sudan (besides the Didinga, e.g. the Beir and, at one time, the Bari).
E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

'Tumbian' Culture. Cf. MAN, 1946, 3

40 STR.—As I was one of the workers responsible for introducing the term 'Tumbian' into East African archaeology, I should be grateful for space for a short reply to Professor Van Riet Lowe's recent paper on this subject (Van Riet Lowe, *Some Observations on the 'Tumbian' Culture*, MAN, 1946, 3). A full examination of the whole Tumbian problem must await the Pan-African Congress on Prehistory to be held in January, 1947.

Lowe based his argument for the rejection of the name 'Tumbian' on some important considerations, chief of which appears to be the fact that recent work in the Belgian Congo, etc., seems to show that the original single name actually covers several different industries or cultures.

Nevertheless, I entirely support Dr. Leakey's arguments against abandoning this term (Owen and Leakey, *A Contribution to the Tumbian Culture in East Africa*, Occ. Paper No. 1, Coryndon Mem. Museum, 1945), since there is no doubt whatever, in my opinion, that a culture containing many of the same distinctive implement types which Menghin originally recognized and named for the first time also exists in Kenya and Uganda. These types include the so-called picks, the tranchets (especially), the large, thin, and beautifully made lanceolate and leaf-shaped weapons, and the humpbacked, flat- or keel-based tools. Almost all Congo and East African sites produce these same distinctive types in relative abundance compared with other, less specialized artefacts in the

same industries. It is these types which serve to distinguish the Tumbian culture from Late Acheulian or other cultures in these parts of Africa, whatever may have been its origin in the Lower Palaeolithic and its subsequent development right up into the Congo Neolithic with polished tools.

Of course, there can be little doubt that there were many local variations of the Tumbian, in view of the vast area it covers, but the recognition of these greater or lesser variations is no reason for dispensing with the original generic name in favour of a host of local site-names. Rather should the latter be used as secondary differentiating names representing *species*, as it were, of the Tumbian *genus*.

Next, I must try to clarify the relationship between the Uganda Tumbian and the 'Sangoan,' for it is not correct to say that I used the former term to describe a culture 'previously named Sangoan by Wayland.' I first recognized the presence of the Tumbian in Uganda in 1934, having previously seen published figures of the Congo Tumbian as well as an (I think) unnamed collection from West Kenya, found and presented to the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology by the Ven. Archdeacon Owen before 1934. In my book (O'Brien, *The Prehistory of Uganda Protectorate*, Cambridge, 1939) I described an industry I found *in situ* in the N-Horizon of the Kagera 100-foot terrace. This industry was obviously an earlier, very primitive stage of the true Tumbian from deposits above the N-Horizon at the same sites. Because of the marked difference in their respective states of development, I was forced to postulate a cultural gap in the local Tumbian evolution. I therefore called the N-Horizon stage 'Proto-Tumbian' and the latter stage 'Middle Tumbian,' leaving the 'Lower Tumbian' to be found at some other site eventually. How this gap was filled has been described by Owen and Leakey. From the Kagera 'Tumbian' sites we moved to the Sango Hills, some eighty or ninety miles away. Here we found an abundance of implements in the non-stratified hilltop earths and rubbles of the type called 'Sangoan' by Mr. Wayland. Our own comparative study of this material showed that it was actually a mixture of cultures of different ages. Apart from typology, this was proved by the differing states of preservation of the tools. The earliest series was some Upper or Late Uganda Acheulian; the youngest included some true Tumbian and some Levalloisian. In between, and forming the greater part of the 'Sangoan,' was a group of core and flake tools of a *facies* practically identical with our Proto-Tumbian in the Kagera valley. As the latter itself consisted of implement types that had long before been associated with the earlier stages of the Congo Tumbian, I felt justified in giving precedence to the earlier term and, by so doing, in drawing attention to the evident cultural connexion that had existed between the two regions. Geographically, they are not as far apart as South Africa and Kenya, yet Leakey paid a similar tribute to a South African culture when he re-named his old 'Nanyukian' 'Kenya Fauresmith.'

Finally, a word about Professor Van Riet Lowe's belief that the term 'Levalloisian' merely describes a particular flaking technique, and not a distinct culture. As far as South Africa is concerned, he may be quite right in claiming that the Levalloisian technique formed an integral part of the Hand-axe culture. But why should it not? If one assumes that the African Levalloisian made its first appearance in South Africa much earlier than elsewhere, there seems to be no reason why that particular culture contact should not also have taken place earlier there than elsewhere, even as early as Stellenbosch V.

In any event, the fact remains that there are many East African sites which contain pure Levalloisian industries, quite uncontaminated—or should one say unadorned!—by the presence of hand-axe elements. If one adds to that fact the type of human remains (Neandertaloid) always so far found with Levalloisian and allied industries, *plus* the high degree of probability that the Hand-axe People belonged to the genus *Homo sapiens*, it seems most unlikely that 'Levalloisian' was simply and always a flaking technique applied by the Acheulian hand-axe makers.

Naurobi

Yours, etc.,

T. P. O'BRIEN

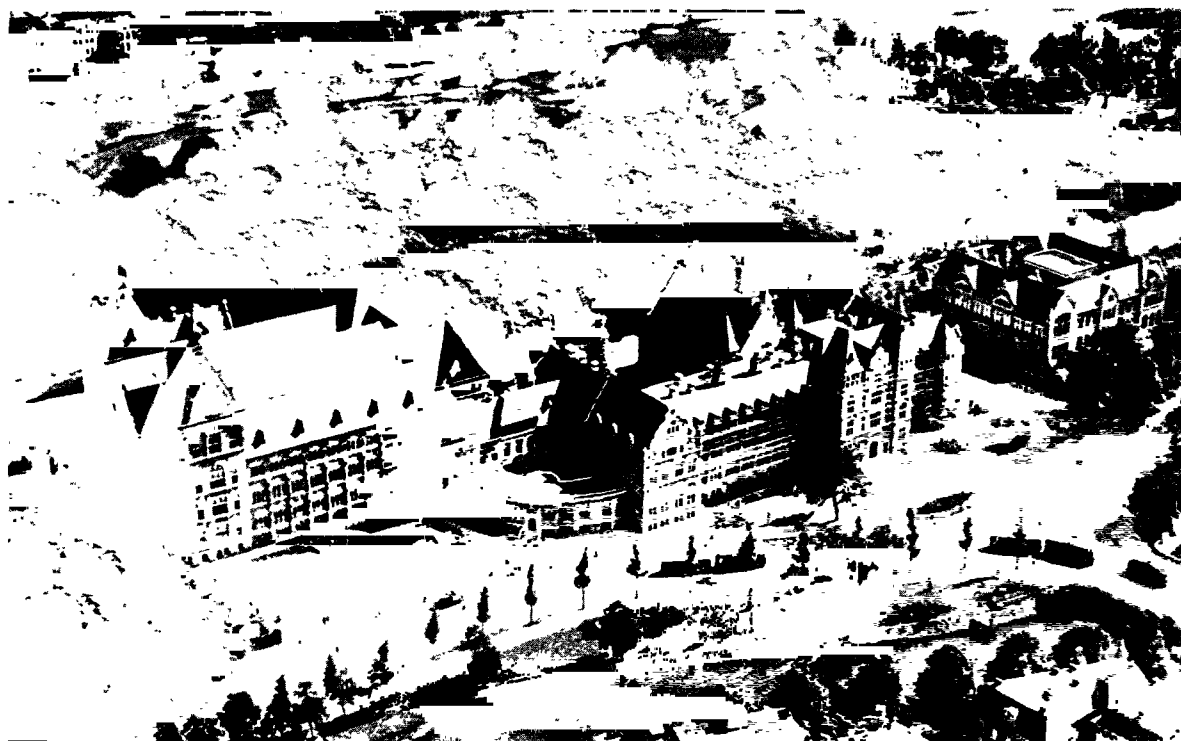


FIG. 1.—AIR VIEW OF THE INSTITUTE'S BUILDINGS



FIG. 2 MARKET SCENE IN SURINAM, A DIORAMA AT THE INSTITUTE, IN WHICH THIRTEEN DISTINCT RACIAL TYPES ARE REPRESENTED

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE FOR THE INDIES AT AMSTERDAM

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

THE ROYAL INSTITUTÉ FOR THE INDIES AND ITS ETHNOLOGICAL WORK. *By Johanna Felhou Kraal. A paper read to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 2 April, 1946. With Plate C and illustrations in text*

41 First of all I must thank the President, the Honorary Secretary and the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute for the very welcome invitation to come and address you on behalf of the Royal Institute for the Indies at Amsterdam. I bring with me the compliments of our board to you all: I can assure you that the members are very much gratified to renew relations between your venerable Institute and our younger one.

I did not realize, before Dr. Lindgren's suggestion came to me to talk about our Institute and the way it is organized, that such similar problems are encountered in the two countries. When, however, we were again able to read some recent volumes of your *Journal* and of *MAN* and some other publications, we noted with interest your plans for founding a museum or a building to house all the institutions concerned with the many varied cultures within the British Commonwealth. This fact encourages me in trying to tell you something about an institution which I have learnt to know well and indeed to love.

One of the aspects of Dutch liberalism in the middle of the last century was a greater public interest in the colonies. This was an interest in both senses of the word: both a more widespread economic interest, among a larger part of the nation than before (when commercial relations with the colonies were more or less a state concern only), and also an interest in the sense that more people wanted to know about the Indies. I wish to speak today about the second type of interest, which awoke about 1850. Knowledge was in fact hurled at the people through the publication of Multatuli's *Max Havelaar* in 1868, which exposed certain flagrant abuses. Already in 1870 the States General, our parliament, had passed an act to alter an article of the basic body of law of the East Indies (dating from 1854), so as to permit free enterprise to private persons, but without infringing the natives' vested rights to the soil. This is known as the Agrarian Act.

It was in that atmosphere that a museum was founded at Haarlem in 1865, with private collections of objects of purely economic as well as of ethnographic interest, to show the Dutch public the products of the overseas territories. This first Colonial Museum of the world was part of the Netherlands Industrial Association (*Nederlandsche Maatschappij van Nijverheid*), which supplied a director and a small staff, a library and a laboratory and housed it in the 'Pavillion,' once the Haarlem residence of King Louis Napoleon. Twenty years later the museum became an independent unit and Mr. Cremer became the first president of its board. About 1900 the expansion of Dutch energy in the Indies found its echo in Holland, and the museum outgrew its first home. Mr. Cremer, who was at one time Minister for the Colonies, and Dr. Hubrecht, a member of parliament, looked for more appropriate surroundings, envisaging an institution which should draw its strength from a wider circle than hitherto.

It took some years to realize this project, but in 1910 the moment seemed favourable and the Colonial Institute was constituted. It is in fact a private association, the capital having been contributed by private persons, industries, commercial enterprises, banks, plantations, shipping companies, etc., and subsidized by the governments of the Netherlands and of the overseas territories, by the province, by the Chambers of Commerce and the municipality of Amsterdam, which welcomed the new Institute within its boundaries and gave it all possible facilities, namely a permanent lease of the site and the co-operation of the Municipal University.

Thus we see a semi-official institution, with a large board consisting of the initial founders (later joined by others) and a committee of management including government representatives among the delegates of the various authorities. Any private person or any company can become a member by paying a certain contribution yearly. At the present moment some 2,500 members are registered and, for the year 1945, the subsidies and contributions averaged more than 100,000 guilders each, the total budget having increased from about 60,000 guilders in 1913 to over 600,000 guilders.¹

¹ At present equivalent to about £60,000.

The purpose of the Colonial Institute was described as follows at its foundation²: 'in general, the collection and propagation of information relating to our regions overseas and in particular the promotion of commercial, agricultural, industrial and other interests ensuing from the possession of such colonies by the Netherlands in the mother country and the Colonies.'

A memorandum published by the Committee of Preparation also stated that the Netherlands felt the need of 'a central colonial institution for science, education, trade, and industry: an institution where the scientist, the merchant, the official, the traveller

which would have to point the way to the younger generation in the Netherlands, whose beautiful task it will be to lead the Greater Netherlands to prosperity and development and enable them to take an honourable place amongst the surrounding nations.'

To enable the new society to pursue this purpose, its activities were planned with a view to both the collection and the propagation of information. For collecting, three departments were projected: the Economic or Commercial Department, the Hygienic Department, and the Ethnological Department. The propagation of the collected knowledge was to become the charge of the museum (with its sub-divisions corresponding to the three departments), of the library, and of the photographic archives.

The building at Amsterdam (see Plate C, fig. 1) was designed to accord with these principles. The Hygienic Department, which co-operates closely with the medical faculty of the University, was given a separate building in 1917, and leads its life more or less apart from the main Institute, though there are many personal ties and the Director of the Institute for Tropical Medicine (as it has become) is as much *in* the Institute and its interests as are the other directors. I must explain that the construction of the main building encountered many technical difficulties during the war of 1914-1918 and that it only came into use in 1926. The various sections used separate private houses up to that moment, and it has accordingly taken them a good many years to make mutual adjustment not only with respect to the physical surroundings in the large new building but especially with respect to evolving an atmosphere of collaboration directed towards a general over-riding purpose. It may be worth suggesting that when such an institute is being built, it should, ideally, be a unit from the very beginning.

The building stands on a corner and has two entrances, which reflect its character: the main entrance leads the visitor through a magnificent hall to a large auditorium and to the library and the Photographic Department, while round the corner is the museum. To the sides and in between, the Economic and the Ethnological Departments have their place, as well as the general administrative and technical services. It is thus all quite logically arranged, the two scientific departments being occupied with internal affairs, the administration and technical staff rendering their invaluable services (which oil the machinery, as it were, unobtrusively and within the organization), whereas the sections designed to show the public the fruits of the scientists' labours show their fronts openly and hospitably.

Here, however, I have over-simplified the picture, and in three ways. First, the scientific sections also have their own contacts with the public: the Com-

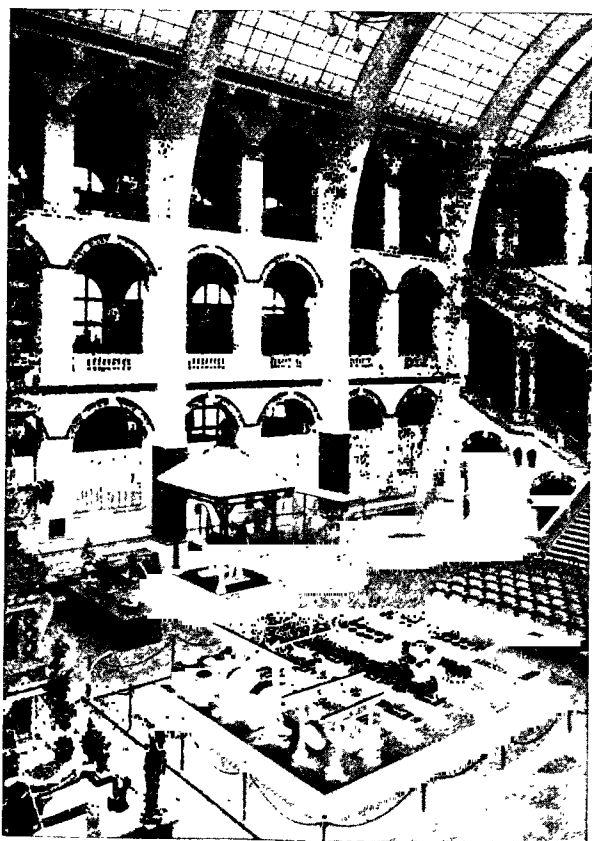


FIG. 3.—THE "GAMELAN" ORCHESTRA IN THE MAIN HALL OF THE INSTITUTE

and explorer can, in suitable surroundings and provided with the best equipment, relate and demonstrate their experiences, where there will be an opportunity not only of making thorough scientific investigations in a restful atmosphere but also of acquiring practical information relating to all that is of importance in the colonial economic sphere at the present day: an institution therefore where science and practical study would go hand in hand, a living organism from which educational power would emanate to a large circle and

² C. J. Hasselman, *Origin, Scope and Future of the Colonial Institute*, 1924, pp. 8-9.

mercial Department supplies the results of its research directly to the firms which ask for them (the work is indeed often undertaken at the request of outside firms); the section for ethnology has its courses and lectures, its connexions with field-workers, and so forth; and both of course publish their results in books and articles. Secondly, the library and the photographic archives do not work for the public only, but for the staff of the departments as well: there is a constant interaction through the documentation system. Thirdly, the Secretary-General is not only the head of the secretariat (with its routine concern with committee meetings, reports, budgets, membership, accounts, and the technical services) but also supervises the library and the photographic collections and the sub-departments created in later years (a bureau for propaganda and one for educational matters).

Finally, a part of the building is reserved for visitors, congresses, and the housing of sister institutions which value the opportunity to have the same roof overhead (with all the services we can give them) and the same address as the Royal Institute for the Indies.

This large institution has therefore become rather complex during the 35 years of its existence. Nevertheless, the scientific departments are, in my view, the main means for carrying out the essential purpose of the Institute, and I hope this will continue to be true for a long time to come. My further remarks will be devoted to one of them, the Department of Ethnology, as the most relevant to the interests of the Royal Anthropological Institute and, moreover, the one that I know best, having worked in it for over 18 years.

In my historical sketch I have mentioned that the Colonial Museum at Haarlem formed the basis of the later Colonial Institute and, since that Museum was largely a commercial one, the Economic Department of the Institute easily developed out of this background. But the founders of the new Institute clearly understood the importance of ethnographical, ethnological, and linguistic investigation, and the Department of Ethnology came into being two years after the Institute was launched. Fortunately the Amsterdam Zoological Society (*Natura Artis Magistra*) was willing to give the whole of its ethnographical collections to the new sister, who was coming to live next door. For the time being no exhibition space was available, however, and all were stored elsewhere, with the exception of those objects that were most needed for demonstration purposes in lectures to students.

The first Director of the Ethnological Department, J. C. van Eerde, had some ten years' experience of working with the Indonesian peoples as a civil servant besides the thorough preliminary studies which were demanded for such posts. Moreover, he had visited the most modern European museums in order to learn

exhibition techniques. His was a heavy task, but he made an undoubted success of his dual function: namely, organizing a new department, making plans for the building as well as for his part of the museum, and at the same time carrying out original research in this young branch of science, while supervising such activities as did not need to wait for the new quarters. Van Eerde's programme, which stood the test of years, was as follows:

(1) To collect all printed and other information about the peoples of the Archipelago, with a view to finding the worst gaps and having these filled by research on the spot.

(2) To collect those interested in this sort of work and to form them into decentralized groups to promote it regionally; to learn from them what private collections existed in Holland and the Indies and to try to persuade the owners of these to serve the public interest by handing them over to a public museum.

(3) To collect a staff of workers with experience in the Indies to study the literature and the material found in the field, as well as the objects received from private persons.

(4) To widen the circle of interested people by publishing the results and by way of exhibits and lectures, thus enabling newcomers to follow up the work started by others; to bring out bibliographies, monographs, and articles, showing the students the objects of study, teaching them sound methods and intensifying their curiosity, so as to stimulate their powers of observation for the time when they would be on the spot themselves, and thus enabling them to enrich knowledge.

(5) To help to bring about a better understanding between the different races that live together in the Indies, by giving lectures and short courses on the various aspects of colonial life and to show any eastward-bound employees of commercial organizations that it was in their own interest to learn not only the language but also the behaviour necessary in surroundings very different from those in the mother country.

While a substantial amount of money had been collected in 1910 to launch the Institute, the rise in prices through the war resulted in a large sum being sunk in the enormous building, leaving only a small working capital. Few aspects of the Institute's work pay for themselves. Its income and expenditure fluctuate sharply with the world's economic fluctuations. This circumstance obviously does not promote steadiness and consistency in scientific research work, and it was one of van Eerde's lasting achievements to have forestalled this as early as 1913, when he planned his department, with the backing of Dr. C. W. Janssen, the Mæcenas of the Ethnological Section. They took as their model the Batak Institute,

which had been in existence since 1908, and of whose board Dr. Janssen was a member. Its aim was to collect all available information about the geographical and ethnographical unit formed by the Batak districts in the northern highlands of Sumatra, and to use the knowledge thus obtained for the benefit of these peoples and to promote good relations between them and the Dutch tobacco estates on the East Coast. A hospital and technical school were established, close co-operation with missionary activities was

Bali and for the Moluccas (including New Guinea). Each institute had its own members, and boards, but was linked to the Ethnological Department of the Colonial Institute through the Director, who was at the same time secretary to all the boards. After 1926 when the new building was furnished, the so-called 'daughter' institutions had their own rooms within the department, where the respective archivists kept their small special libraries. Their financial independence made it possible for these institutes to

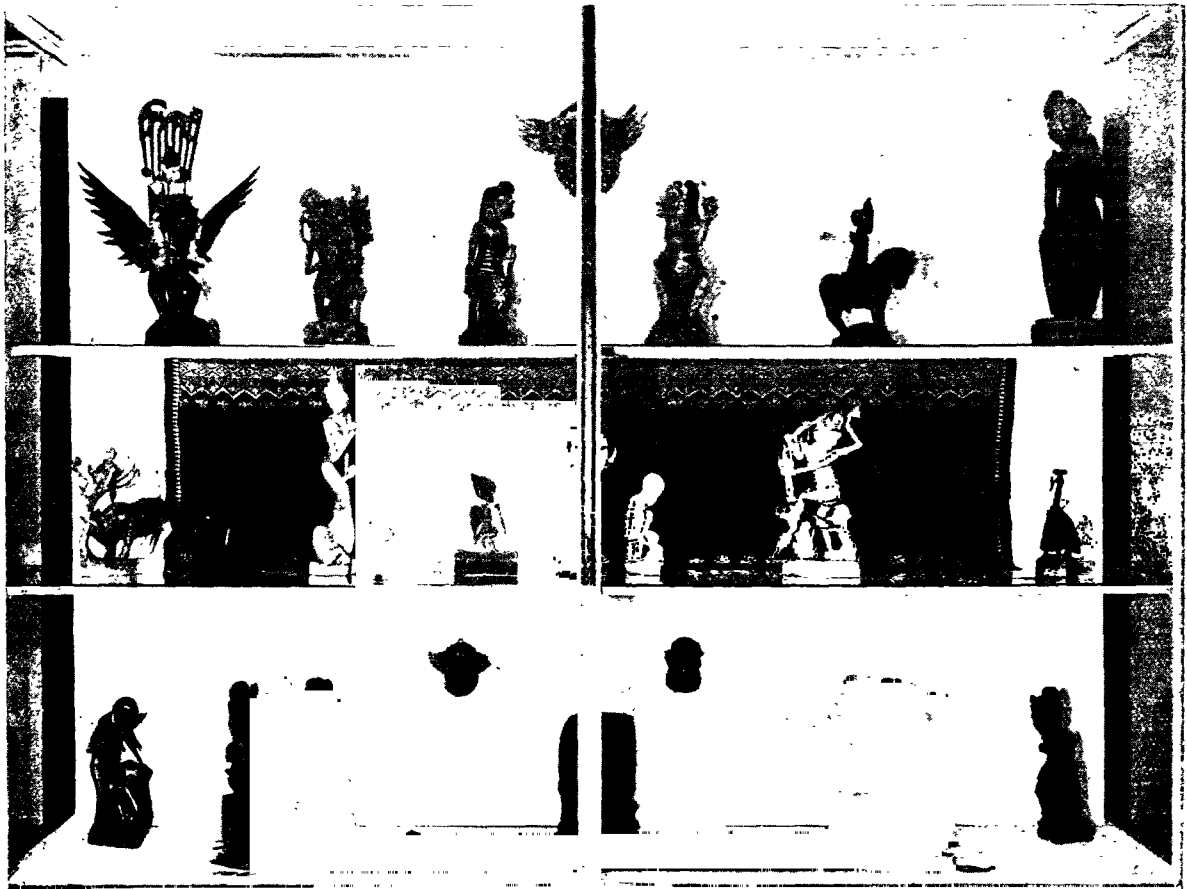


FIG. 4.—BALINESE WOOD SCULPTURE, ANCIENT AND MODERN: AN EXAMPLE OF THE IMPROVED ARRANGEMENT OF ETHNOGRAPHICAL OBJECTS AT THE INSTITUTE

sought booklets were published in the Batak language, and dictionaries made available. The librarian, Mr. Joustra, himself visited these highlands to study Batak life, and he published a sort of Batak encyclopædia which served as an example for other publications later on, when the Batak Institute's activities were copied for other geographic areas in the Archipelago by the Colonial Institute, under whose ægis seven other auxiliary institutes came into being between 1915 and 1927. There was one for Atchin, one for the East coast of Sumatra, one each for Menangkabau and for southern Sumatra, for Java, for

pay for research in the field and an impressive series of publications on the results without drawing upon the funds of the central Institute.

This decentralization of 'local' work, moreover, enabled our Department to tackle more general tasks. Van Eerde had surrounded himself with experts in different fields. Dr. Kleiweg de Zwaan, for instance, joined the staff as physical anthropologist, and his monographs have been published in *Mededeelingen van het Koloniaal Instituut*, the Institute's own series of reports, which include the work of scientists outside the Institute. We have also published *Volkenkundige*

Opstellen (Ethnographical Essays) and the more important *Pandecten van het Adatrecht* (Pandects of Customary Law). When the Colonial Institute was founded, Leyden University was the only place where civil servants were being trained for the Indies, and as a result of the close personal friendship between Professor van Eerde and Professor van Vollenhoven,

Geography, and Ethnology (at the Hague), and this Committee launched a long-term scheme of publications on Customary Law, van Vollenhoven being again the leading spirit.

The Director of the Department of Ethnology in the Institute for the Indies is always a member of related institutions, such as the Royal Institute of Linguistics

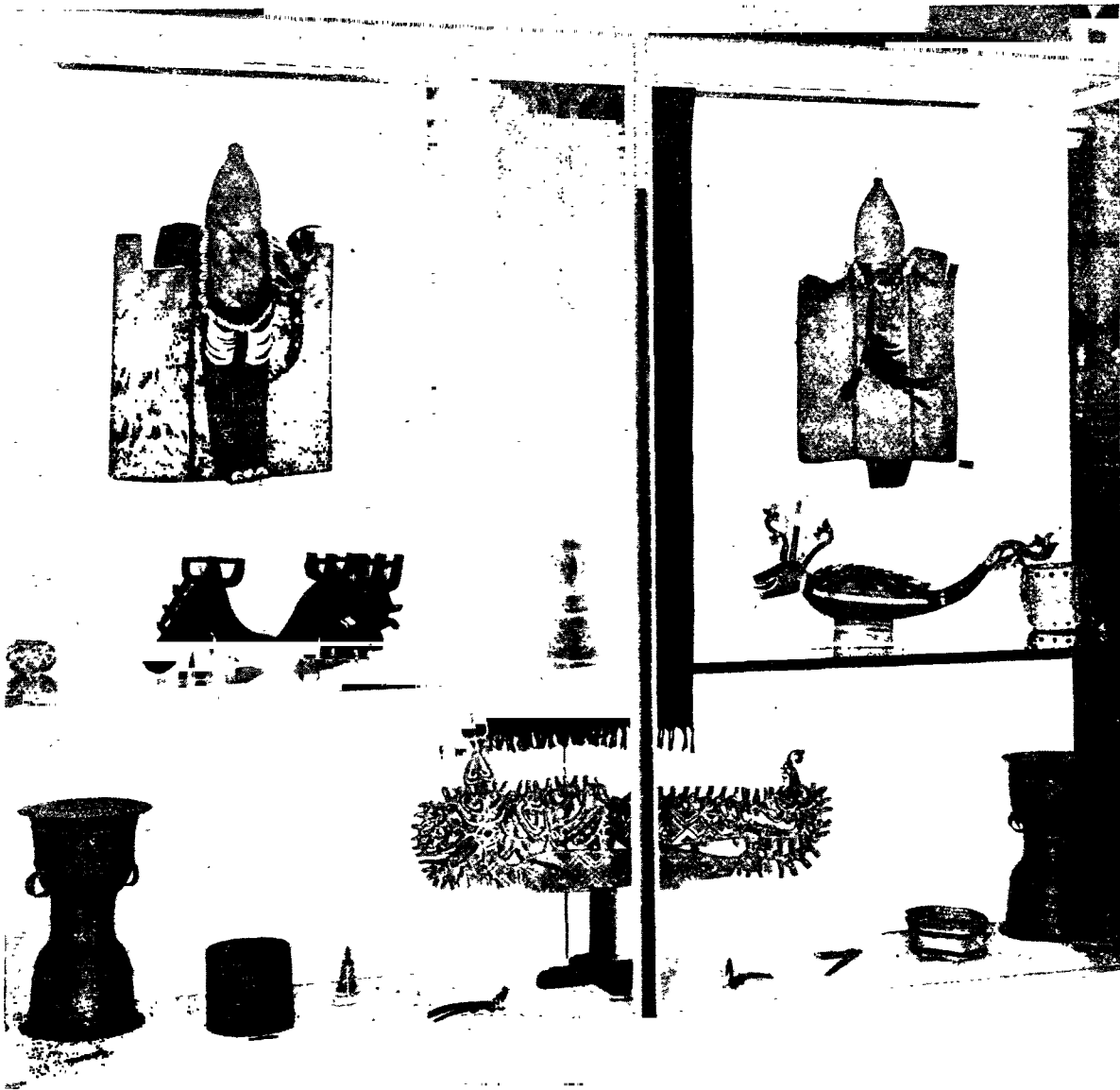


FIG. 5.—ARTS AND CRAFTS OF ALOR: AN EXAMPLE OF THE IMPROVED ARRANGEMENT OF ETHNOGRAPHICAL OBJECTS AT THE INSTITUTE

who held the chair of Indonesian Customary Law, and was a famous exponent of the new 'ethical' policy for the Indies, the researches of van Vollenhoven's pupils were published, in 10 volumes, in our Institute's *Pandecten*. Van Eerde himself was a member of the Hague Committee for Customary Law which had been set up by the Royal Institute for Linguistics,

and the Netherlands Geographical Society, and personal relations of this type have led to a wide network of connexions with institutions and publications at home and abroad. Our department exchanges with some 175 scientific periodicals or series.

The activities of our Institute have been very much intertwined with those of the University of Amsterdam

from the beginning, as I have mentioned, and the Institute obtained permission to promote special knowledge of the Indies by creating some six or seven personal professorships, such as are sometimes founded by private donations; and of these one has been devoted to Ethnology and one to Physical Anthropology. When van Eerde thus became Professor of Ethnology at Amsterdam in 1917, he found himself a member of the combination of the Philology and Science faculties which deals with students of human geography. The training of students of the Indies legal system brought him pupils in the faculty of law as well, and later on, when a special faculty was created for Economics (1921), Professor van Eerde was nominated to one of the economic professorships (of the type we call 'Extraordinary,' meaning that it is held in addition to another post). Hence lectures on colonial ethnology were attended by students of three different groups.

Dr. Kleiweg de Zwaan was called to the chair of Physical Anthropology (established in 1919), but he was soon (1924) taken over by the University as Extraordinary Professor of Anthropology and Prehistory, later holding the chair, from which he resigned in 1939. He is still an honorary member of the Institute's staff.

Professor van Eerde created for his students a circle for monthly discussions, attendance at which was entirely voluntary. Dr. Schrieke continued this side, like many others, of his predecessor's work, and led such a group of pupils during the recent war, who studied with him (through underground contacts, of course) certain sociological questions relating to the Indies, and especially to the projected changes in the post-war structure of our four-fold kingdom.

From 1920 onwards, students of human geography and teachers (mostly geographers) from all over the country were able to attend a three-day course on colonial subjects during the Christmas holidays, in order to brush up their knowledge of both East and West Indies subjects: some 24 of these courses have been held altogether, and the Germans did not prohibit them until 1943. Transport difficulties prevented us from organizing the twenty-fifth last Christmas, but next Christmas we shall certainly do so again.

Another annual function brings together some 80 or 100 ethnologists and anthropologists on a Saturday early in January to discuss some new problem or find. This custom was also established by Professor van Eerde about 30 years ago. Amsterdam was host for the first 25 years, but since then Leyden and Utrecht have in turn offered their hospitality as well.

Of the various courses of lectures held at the Colonial Institute I wish to dwell particularly on the Indological one, well known in Holland. Professor

van Eerde first gave it in 1917 and the fact that it has been little changed since proves again the soundness of the foundation he laid. This three months' course teaches the young men and women whose future lies in the overseas territories something of ethnology (culture and religion), the Malay language, hygiene, economics, certain aspects of history and government, geography and agriculture. I always tell the students starting a new course that I hope they will realize, after they have finished it, that they do not really know anything about the Indies, but merely have some conception of the many problems to be dealt with in their daily life in the tropics.

Another feature of our Institute's work consists in organizing or taking part in exhibitions. Since the war of 1914-1918 our department has been represented at a dozen major international expositions, including those in Stockholm (1919), Madrid (1920), Milan (1926), and Paris (1931, when a disastrous fire burnt down the whole Netherlands pavilion soon after the opening, a new one being built within six weeks only). It was Paris again in 1937, and New York in 1939. In most of these the Institute was represented as a whole, and in later years this co-operation was put into practice in the national exhibitions as well: but some large ones have been specially arranged by the Ethnological Department, for instance the Hindu Exhibition in the municipal museum at Amsterdam (1915), one of Sumatran textiles (1922), and a general ethnographical survey shown at Arnhem in 1928.

At the time of our Queen's Silver Jubilee in 1923, the Institute's building was sufficiently advanced to house an important exhibition illustrating the development of the overseas territories during the past quarter of a century. Again, when the fortieth year of Her Majesty's reign was celebrated in 1938, Professor Schrieke, who had just become Director, gave the ethnological museum quite a new appearance for the Jubilee exhibition, the new style being introduced into other parts of our museum later on (see figs. 4, 5).

Professor van Eerde had organized the museum along two lines: geographically, and by special subjects or collections. This proved a sound principle (though we might perhaps take to heart some of Mr. Braunholtz's suggestions in his Presidential Address to your Institute about culture contact and chronology). The several regions of Indonesia, some of the adjacent territories, and the Dutch West Indies (see Plate C, fig. 2) each have their own exhibit, where the cultural aspects of life are shown for Java, Bali (see fig. 4), Sumatra (see fig. 6) and so on. Apart from these there are a historical room, one for the Hindu-Javanese period, one containing physico-anthropological and prehistoric material, one for weaving and other handicrafts, one for maritime

objects, etc. These are shifted from time to time in order to show new acquisitions or to improve the display, especially to interest special groups of visitors, such as school-children or servicemen.

In order to secure authentic objects of first-class quality for the collections, a close relationship was early established between our Institute and civil servants and others in the Indies. Periodically a list of desiderata was sent to administrators on the spot, while our representatives collected special specimens which came to their or our knowledge. The government pawn-shops have proved to be a store-house for valuable trinkets and fabrics, and the 'orphans' courts,' which became the official receivers in bankruptcy cases, were also a source of good collections. The Monuments Act, passed in order to stop the unauthorized and careless collection of valuable specimens, gave the head of the Archaeological Survey in the Indies the power to issue special export licences, and our museum secured some very fine pieces under this clause, pieces which we can now exhibit again, since the danger of removal of good specimens by the Germans has passed away. These original specimens had been replaced during the war by replicas made in our workshop, which will now be useful for exhibitions outside the museum.

For the children we have constructed a large relief map of the world, with little ships sailing over the water, sailing vessels taking the ancient routes and modern steamships passing the Suez and Panama Canals, with aeroplanes overhead. There was a special library for children for several years, but we had to close it, because the children interested had in a short time read all the books available and worn them down to rags! New books are not to be had now, so we have to wait for a better future, here as elsewhere.

I must not forget to mention what we call the Encyclopædic Bureau. The civil servants in the Indies have to write a memorandum about their territory when handing over the administration to a successor. This custom dates from the times of the Dutch East India Company.³ These reports all went to the department of civil administration at Batavia, where they were put in the archives in due course. Some officials realized that this was a waste of good, first-hand information, and in the early 'twenties the Government set up an Encyclopædic Bureau to sort out the most valuable and permanently useful parts of the memoranda for publication. Some interesting volumes have been the result. But during the subsequent economic depression, the Bureau fell an early victim to retrenchment. About 1930 the

Government, realizing that this was regrettable, asked the Colonial Institute to take over the task, and Professor van Eerde incorporated it with the auxiliary institutes I have described, to form an interlocking working unit. The head of the Encyclopædic Bureau,



FIG. 6.—MODEL OF A MINANGKABAU WOMAN:
BEHIND, A DOOR FROM SOUTH SUMATRA

³ See, for instance, the report on Malacca, by Balthasar Bort, 1678, translated and published in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, by Dr. Blagden, in 1927.

ex-Governor Tideman, became the secretary of all the smaller institutes, and Professor van Eerde moved up to the newly created vice-chairmanship. But the need for reducing expenditure again became pressing,

and when Professor van Eerde died in 1936, this institution also lost its vitality. The circle of people interested in the overseas territories had indeed grown very much, but it centred around the Colonial Institute as a whole, and the interest in the daughter institutes could not be separately maintained.

This was the situation Dr. Schrieke found when he became Director of our department early in 1938. He had succeeded van Eerde as Professor at the University in 1936 and in that capacity he had been able to observe the department at close quarters, since, like van Eerde before him, he gave his lectures in our departmental lecture-room and had his own room in the building. So when he was asked to be Director he knew what the difficulties were and tackled our problems with his accustomed energy and vision.

In order to try to make the department once more independent of the Institute's meagre finances, he revived the daughter institutes. They had long lost their own librarians, so Dr. Schrieke combined their efforts with the department's: the daughter institutes collected a sum to subsidize the department and three more curators were nominated (we had at that time one curator and an assistant curator) to take over part of the archivists' work. The Encyclopædic Bureau was given a new chief, who was to be assisted by some young men who had finished their studies for the civil service in the Indies but had not yet been sent overseas. When the outbreak of war indefinitely postponed their departure, they remained in the Bureau.

The revival of the smaller institutes was also stimulated by the founding of a new periodical entitled *Cultureel Indië*, which enlarged the circle of interested persons, membership of any one of the institutes being combined with the subscription to this illustrated monthly. The rebate allowed by the publisher (E. J. Brill of Leyden) to members of the auxiliary institutes became an asset, since the editorial work of the publication was done by the staff of the department as a part of their normal duties.

Another asset was provided by the courses of lectures already referred to. The lecturers had previously been, in most cases, persons from outside the Institute, who had to be paid for their services, so that the courses usually brought no financial profit. Dr. Schrieke substituted members of his own staff and of the staff of the other departments. Besides the scientific people others of us who belonged rather to the administrative side made our contribution. The system worked and enabled the department to exist once more. It was characteristic of Dr. Schrieke that he drew out of his collaborators everything that was in them: he stimulated their efforts by talking shop with every one of them. And he could do so because he himself knew more than all of us together. Moreover, he let everyone work in his or her own way;

he made no restrictions whatsoever as to working hours and material, he planned journeys for research purposes and meetings of all kinds, and yet was open to any initiative from our side. We shall always remember those first years of his directorship as a period of very intense life.

Here, as everywhere, the outbreak of war inevitably slowed down the pace: the monthly *Cultureel Indië* became a bi-monthly, but we have managed to keep it alive until now. Intercourse with foreign institutions came to a stop altogether and no new material, no fresh literature was to be had. On the other hand, the war gave us during the first years at least (when the Institute's work was not interfered with, apart from the fact that we had to live in less than half our building) time to work on material and complete studies that perhaps otherwise would never have been taken in hand.

An historical section was brought into being: history was indeed the topic of the day, since contemporary life was, culturally, reduced to nothing and no new things were tolerated. An expert on colonial history came to reinforce our staff and archives were set up for collected family papers, which yielded many data for interesting *petite histoire* articles in *Cultureel Indië*.

With the available funds Dr. Schrieke bought second-hand books and ethnographical objects whenever the occasion arose. Since the Germans printed bank-notes very freely, money was abundant and the then Secretary-General made use of the increased public interest in the Indies (further intensified when the war spread to the Pacific) to line the Institute's purse. This, however, brought the Institute to a turning-point. Propaganda and popularization, in themselves useful activities for an Institute such as ours, took much of the time and energy not only of the so-called Propaganda Bureau but also of the scientific staff, though Dr. Schrieke tried to set a limit to the ever-rising flood of small but time-devouring tasks that our curators were asked to accomplish. On the other hand the outward results were admittedly impressive: thousands of visitors in the museum (attracted by the Sunday performances of *gamelan* music—fig. 3—and the Indonesian dances which we started in 1940) where before the war there were hundreds only: small exhibitions and lectures everywhere; all kinds of inquiries coming in. But the drawbacks and the ultimate risks to the Institute's scientific reputation did not always seem to be clearly understood.

Circumstances are, however, beginning to push the Institute again in the direction which prevailed before the war. Since the post-war finances simply do not permit both types of activities to continue, the choice between science and propaganda has to be faced, and I have great hopes that science will win.

PERSONAL NAMES AMONG THE BARI. *By the late G. O. Whitehead*¹

42 There does not exist much information upon the name-systems of the tribes of the Southern Sudan. More perhaps has been recorded about the names of the Bari, a people living on the banks of the Upper Nile, than about the systems of any of the other tribes. And from what has been collected it is possible to understand some of the purposes which a name fulfils in Bari life, and the native view of family life which the existence of this system suggests.

The ceremonies which attend the giving of a name to a child a few days after its birth consist of a sprinkling with water or the like and the pronouncement of one or more names in which not merely the mother and father take a part but the representatives of one or both sides of the family.

We find that names are given for three reasons.

1. *Serial Names.*—The chief feature about Bari names is that they have a serial or ordinal significance. That is to say, the name serves to indicate in what order the child has been born, whether first, second, or third.

Only the children of one mother are included in the same series, and sons and daughters of the same mother are enumerated separately. Thus in a family which contained four boys, all of whom survived up to the birth of the latest, the first might be called Topun, the second Lado, the third Wani or Wanike, and the fourth Pitia, and these names, apart from the meaning they bear, would serve to show the place which each child held in the succession of sons. In a family in which there were four daughters, all of them alive, these girls might bear the names Kapuki, Poni, Jwan, and Pita, and a stranger would be able to tell from these names the order of their birth. These names are borne throughout life.

This system of serial names is thus clear in its main intention, but there are certain considerations which cause departures from the normal sequence of names. In the first place, although male and female children are named or counted (for it is much the same thing) in a separate series, yet it seems that there are names of one series which will contrive to contain some reference to the other. Thus Lepsuk is the name of a first-born son following upon a daughter: Suköji the name of a first-born daughter following upon a son. It is not known how far this type of enumeration goes, but there may be even more complicated examples of it. Two common names, Könyi and

Kiden, refer respectively to the first son born after three or many sisters, and the first daughter born after three or many brothers.

In the second place, the regular series of names is upset if there has been a death among the previous children. But among the group of special names for these unfortunate children (*momòdiot*) who have lost previous brothers or sisters, it is possible to select a particular name that will denote how many children have died before the birth of the child to be named. According to my own information Lako, Lako 'Dioŋ, or Lako Wurudiaŋ is the name of a boy if a previous child has died, while Mòdi or Legge (stranger) would be his name if more than one brother have died. In the same way with girls Kako or Kako 'Dioŋ is the name given to a child if one sister has died previously. Sumuti (fish) or Kinyoŋ (crocodile) if more than one have died. Thus in this type of name the idea of order is still preserved.

In the third place, the birth of twins is another occurrence which has a disturbing effect on the usual sequence of names. Sometimes twins may be given the same serial names which they would bear if they were born separately. Thus Pitia Yeq-ko-Pioŋ, a famous Bari rainmaker, though a twin, bears a fourth-born son's name, Pitia. But there exist special twin names. A first-born male twin is called Ulaŋ, the name of a bird,² the second-born, if a boy, Lado, which is the typical second-born name. A first-born female twin is called Bojo' (despiser of her twin), the second-born, if a girl, Jore (full).

But this out-of-the-way occurrence of a twin birth has not exhausted its influence upon the serial names when the twins themselves have been named. The children who follow upon the birth of twins must have a special name. The next boy is called Mogga (he holds, or is held by, twins), the next daughter Gune (big-headed). The Nuer, it may be noticed, go so far as to give special names to the next three children.

Fourthly, there is an aversion, according to Mr. Beaton, to naming a son by the same name as his father, *e.g.* Lado lo Lado. This feeling would prevent a third-born son giving his own third-born son the common name Wani: he would either have to select another name which signified third-born—and their number is small—or he would give him the name of a fourth-born son, *e.g.* 'Doggale.

Lastly, among certain clans of the Bari there is such a prejudice against first-born girls that when they are born they are given the name of a first-born son, and they only acquire their own rightful feminine names

¹ This article was among various papers bequeathed to me by the late Mr. G. O. Whitehead. It appears to be the paper which he read at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences at London in 1934, a précis of which was published on pp. 212-13 of the *Proceedings* of the Congress. The précis was very short, and the paper is of sufficient interest to be printed in its entirety.—E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

² It is interesting to note that the Nuer and Dinka seem to regard twins as the incarnation of the spirits of birds.

on the birth of a brother, who will then take on his sister's male name.

II. *Genealogical names*.—While the chief purpose of Bari personal names is to mark the order of a child's birth, there is also an idea that names should serve to relate the child to members of the family who have died. The basis of such an idea is clear; it is founded both in the pious recognition of family ties and in the need to propitiate the dead, for death, disease, and trouble of nearly every kind are ascribed by the Bari to the malevolence of the departed spirits (*mulo*) of parents and grandparents. There seem to be no fixed rules as to the assumption of these family names: a child may be given the name of its great-grandfather, or of its grandfather, or of its uncle. It is more common to take names from the father's side of the family, but they may be taken from the mother's side as well. In this way a child may have two or three names, but it is the one given by the father's side by which it is commonly called. But this type of name, however given, has to be subordinated to the system of serial names: thus a first-born son could only take the name of a first-born grandfather, and so on.

III. *Circumstantial names*.—Another idea which accounts for some personal names among the Bari is that of marking by the child's name some accident or event that characterized the birth of the child. These may be called 'characteristic' or 'circumstantial' names, and are the most widespread type of name in the Southern Sudan. There are names to record the season in which the child was born, or to particularize the type of harvest which was being gathered at the time. Others express the time of day or the place at which the birth occurred. As well as facts of time and place some more personal occurrence may be judged worth recording, for instance, that the child's birth is in some way abnormal, that its mother has died in child-birth or has been seriously ill, or that it was a posthumous child.

Among the Bari these circumstantial names are not so abundant as they are among the agricultural tribes to the west, the Fajelu and the Moru, and their primary meaning may have become partially overlain by reference to the other two types of names—'serial' names and 'genealogical' names.

Of the three types of names—serial, genealogical, and circumstantial—none are peculiar to the Bari. But those of the first type have been far further

developed among them than among other Nilotic tribes. This same system appears to be used by the other Bari-speaking tribes, the Fajelu, the Kakwa, and the Kuku, but perhaps not in its full development; according to Bari standards, the Kuku, at any rate, use it incorrectly. Among the Nilotes proper the Anuak have three pairs of words for the first three children male and female; the Nuer have three pairs of words for the children that follow a twin-birth. The Jur (probably Beli) on the left bank of the Nile seem to have an order-of-birth scheme of names, and among the Nuba tribes of the Nuba mountains there is a scheme of masculine and feminine names from the first to the fifth-born child.³

The tribes of the Southern Sudan often take on fresh names later in life, as their members pass from boyhood to manhood, or marry. The Dinka and the Nuer have 'bullock names,' the Acholi and Latuka 'spear names,' and the Kuku 'marriage names.' Except for nicknames, the Bari have nothing of the sort. But at some time during their life they add their father's name to their own birth name. Emancipated from the narrow circle of family life, they need to be known to a larger group by this genealogical description. Occasionally the mother's name is used instead of the father's; thus Pitia lo 'Bojo (the fourth-born son of Plenty). Presumably this is done to distinguish a man from a half-brother of the same name.

Thus personal names among the Bari are not merely the distinctive appellation of an individual, but the description and definition of a member of a family by the use of known and appropriate terms. The naming system is not simply a complexity of theoretical interest, but a framework, a kind of card-index into which the individual may be fitted, so that he will be graded and properly described in relation to the rest of the family. Personal names may thus be regarded as an extension of the terms of relationship; they carry the principle of classification as far as it can be stretched.

³ Anuak serial names: First-born, Unot (m.), Amot (f.); second-born, Ujulo (m.), Ajulo (f.); third-born, Ubona (m.), Aboṇa (f.).

Nuer serial names after the birth of twins: First-born, Bol (m.), Nyabol (f.); second-born, Geṇ (m.), Nyagen (f.), or Kaat (m.), Nyawil (f.); third-born, Tot (m.), Nyatōt (f.).

Jur serial names: First-born, Badogwa; second-born, Bodogoma; third-born, Bazana; fourth-born, Boyibo.

Nuba serial names: see Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 386-7.

BEDYAL POTTERY: A PAINTED WARE MADE IN IRAQI KURDISTAN. *By W. A. Macfadyen, M.C., Sc.D., F.G.S. Illustrated*

43 During an expedition in October, 1936, to an out of the way part of Kurdistan near the Iraqi frontier, I noticed that in one limited area the common pottery in use was of a type new to me. It was a dull red ware with characteristic black painted decoration that I had not observed elsewhere in Iraq.

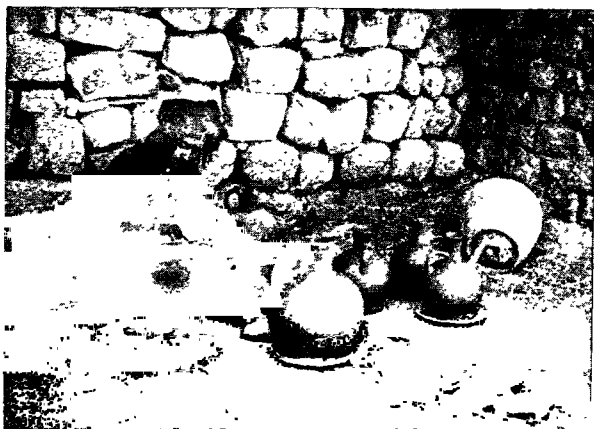


FIG. 1. - POTTERY-MAKING AT BEDYAL

It was reported to be made at the Christian village of Bedyal (Bidyar on the map), which lies in Lat. $36^{\circ} 48' N.$, Long. $44^{\circ} 08' E.$, some 50 km. north-west of Rowandiz.

I visited the village, situated at the south-eastern end of the Chia-i-Shirin mountain range, where this



FIG. 2. - CLAY BOTTLES SUN-BAKING AT BEDYAL

is strikingly cut through by the Hajji Beg River, a tributary of the Great Zab. Bedyal lies at an altitude of about 1,300 metres, high above the river, which here runs in a deep limestone gorge. It is far from any road suitable for wheels. Access is gained from the better known police-post village of Barzan, on foot

or by pack-animal, along a narrow and stony track more suited to goats, and took me five and a half hours' march. One and a half hours' journey farther on—along a still more execrable path, which in one place descends a limestone scarp by a precipitous rocky stairway of the crudest description—lies the next police-post of Kani Bot. It is a somewhat turbulent countryside, frequented by outlaws and the like.



FIG. 3. BEDYAL-WARE WATER BOTTLE

Bedyal proved to be a poor and tiny hamlet. There is a small church of the Nestorian Christians stated to be 800 years old, strongly built of squared stone, windowless, and so quite dark inside. It is entered by a doorway one metre high by half a metre wide. Both absence of windows and the low doorway were stated to be for defence. Inside the door is an ante-room in which was stored the supply of another commodity produced by the village, a few very large jars of edible oil. This is pressed from the fruits of

the wild *butm* or terebinth tree (*Pistacia terebinthus* Linné) which grows to a large size in the neighbourhood, and yields bunches of bright red berries which ripen to a livid green colour, when they simulate peas.

Pottery-making (fig. 1) is carried on individually in the open by the women of several houses. The raw material is a dark red residual clay, which is scraped from clefts and small local deposits in the country rock of massive Cretaceous limestone. No potter's wheel is used. The pots are started upon a circular plate, some of these being of enamelware. The base is thus flat, the bottle standing on a circular rim, with the flat bottom raised about one centimetre inside it. The only tool I saw used was a small wooden scraper, and the pots are gradually built up from the clay with this and the fingers. The pots are dried, and then sun-baked on the roofs (fig. 2). They are later collected in a pile and mingled with cattle dung which finally covers them. Fire is set to the pile, which is then left to burn itself out, and the pottery thus fired.

The only types of vessel being made, so far as I saw, were water bottles with either two opposed handles or one handle and a tubular spout leading from the top of the body at the base of the neck.

The burnt ware is of a dull red colour and no glaze is used. The surface is more dense and smooth than that of an ordinary English flower-pot, and is sufficiently finely textured to avoid rapid imbibition of

water, though it is obviously porous. After burning, the water bottles are crudely decorated with black paint applied in vertical or curved stripes with rows of spots between them. Unfortunately, I did not investigate the paint, but the result is waterproof and seems to be permanent, judging by the examples seen in use in the neighbourhood.

A specimen bottle (fig. 3) was purchased for the equivalent of a few pence from among the smaller sizes available. It stands 27 cm. high and is 17 cm. in diameter. There is a raised rim just below the base of the neck (this rim itself being ornamented with cross cuts), and a ring of small knobs on the body at the level of the base of the handles. A larger but similar knob adorns the top of each handle and is convenient as a thumb pivot. In this raised work the specimen seems to be more ornate than the general run of the bottles produced.

The black painted decoration covers most of the surface, but peters out towards the bottom. The rim of the mouth is painted, and the design even extends for 4 cm. down inside the expanded lip. The throat is open, without the perforated filter-plate that is often found in other Iraqi water bottles.

It may be added that to avoid breakage my Kurdish house-boy Abdulla Hassan faithfully carried the specimen by hand in a basket for ten days, up and down the mountain tracks, until motor transport was reached on the road at Sulaf, near Amadia.

OBITUARY

Harold John Edward Peake, 1867-1946

44 Harold John Edward Peake, President of the Royal Anthropological Institute 1926-8, was the son of the Rev. John Peake, Vicar of Ellesmere. He was born on 29 September, 1867, and died on 22 September, 1946. He belonged to the British tradition of scholarship without professional commitments, and he gave his life to intellectual and public work, finding his reward in the gathering of like-minded friends around his home and his museum at Newbury and the Royal Anthropological Institute, for which he was still drafting research plans as he lay dying. He was deeply as well as broadly a humanist, who held that the appeal to authority was failing and that the motto 'We seek the truth' must supersede all the rival claims to the possession of the truth. He saw with unusual clarity that ritual endures while its explanations change from time to time. He also felt deeply that our mental activity and physical make-up are linked.

Having taken up training in estate management at Leicester, he gained an insight into problems of land use and land tenure and their accompaniments in social organization, with the attendant evolution of means of communication. One of his first papers was on the subject of 'Roads' in a collection entitled *Memorials of Old Leicestershire*.

In 1897 he married Miss Charlotte Bayliff and they went around the world. A stay on a ranch in British

Columbia gave him an understanding of many features of the life of herdsmen, and especially migratory cattle-men, ancient and modern. Japan and China, again, imbued him with a feeling of the parochialism of those who try to discuss civilization as an outgrowth exclusively from ancient Palestine, Greece, and Rome. He felt that these three were themselves the products of a long evolution not so isolated from, or independent of, that of Egyptian, Sumerian, Iranian, Indian, and Chinese tradition as some writers appeared to think.

He was a faithful member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science and presided over its anthropological section in 1922, seeing in it an opportunity for spreading the idea of humanist research among amateurs. In partnership especially with the late Mr. G. A. Garfitt he developed organized work on early metallurgy based largely on spectroscopic and chemical analysis of minute borings of ancient implements. This work has led to much increased knowledge of early sources of metallic ores, technical processes, and lines of trade, and in 1945 he urged that the work, which had lapsed during the war, should be taken up by the Royal Anthropological Institute. A Committee, with Miss Lamb and Mr. Coghlan as its officers, was formed; it gave him great satisfaction to know that the work was going forward. As late as July, 1946, he drafted another scheme for the investigation of early grain cultivation and he discussed this with his friend Professor Stuart

Piggott the day before his death in spite of extreme physical exhaustion.

He also held for over 25 years the fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries, serving on its Council 1928-30. But these scientific interests were, in his view, important in local as well as in national life. He formed a Citizens' Association (non-political) at Newbury, Berks, and became Hon. Curator of the Newbury Museum, chairman of the governors of Newbury Grammar School, chairman and afterwards president of Newbury General Hospital and of the Newbury District Nursing Association, as well as of the Newbury and District Field Club, which under his leadership undertook excavations and investigations of many kinds. The museum had unique features. To help visitors to realize themselves as products of evolution he had a sequence of exhibits leading on to a mirror with the inscription *homo sapiens*. A long series of cases against the walls was divided into equal vertical sections, one for each century from 3000 B.C. to A.D. 2000, while earlier periods were represented, necessarily on a different time scale yet with indications of the length of the various phases. His success is indicated by the remark of a Newbury schoolboy who, when asked about the coming of the Romans to Britain, replied that that was comparatively recent.

Among Peake's most successful organizations for research was the catalogue of British Bronze Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments. It grew in the course of time to nearly 20,000 cards with measured drawings, accurate data and bibliography on each, and it has been used for distributional studies which have given many clues to human relations in past time. It illustrates Peake's special faculty for seeing archaeological objects as something more than material to be classified and dated. The nomad cattlemen of the Pontic steppe of antiquity were in his mind live people with problems to solve, and he might match them, with due reserve, with his rancher friends of British Columbia. It was always 'Life and its Manifestations' that held his interest and he had a particular affection for the ideal of the horseman who rides straight, shoots straight, and speaks straight. It is characteristic of Peake that an old friend cannot recall his association at any time with sect or party, a remarkable fact for the leader of life, in many aspects, in a rural area.

Peake, like the late Lord Abercromby, was one of the pioneers of the study of Britain's prehistoric relations with Europe, and he diligently collected and studied pots and potsherds from Britain, Europe, and Asia. He thought that some of the very early pots of western Europe and Britain owed something of their form to earlier skin-vessels, the scrota of domestic animals being, in his view, specially significant. He found and wrote about the use of the scrotum as a bag among modern pastoralists.

Beaker pottery interested him very particularly, and he hesitated to accept the idea of its origin in the Iberian interior in a culture otherwise poorly equipped. He thought, on the other hand, that it might have been modified from pots of somewhat similar shape made by peoples who could paint their earthenware, i.e. he looked for an east European origin and was inclined to think of the spread of the type to the west and its adoption by coastwise migrants moving between the Iberian peninsula and Brittany. He, however, fully agreed with the general view that beakers in Sicily and probably those of Italy had spread thither from Spain. Early Indian pottery and its relations with Mesopotamia, Iran, and Turkestan also interested him, and for many years he

had expected evidence of early civilization in Iran and its borders and of its diffusion thence. He therefore dissented when Elliot Smith and Perry, in his view, over-emphasized Egyptian origins. Diffusion of Culture seemed to him, as to the older workers, a far more complex matter than the advocates of diffusion from Egypt allowed; at the same time, he attached the greatest importance to the study of early Egypt.

From the very beginning of what was to become the Nazi view of early history, Peake was an uncompromising opponent. He tended to see the language groups of the Aryan family as regional differentiations from a common basis which, he thought, was likely to have spread from the Pontic steppe in the early Bronze Age. His views were therefore in some measure akin to those that have been developed by Professor Gordon Childe, and he greatly admired the studies of Sophus Müller.

The study of early wheat (*Emmer*) and of its spread from S.W. Asia led him to discuss its probable hybridization with *Dinkel* or *Einkorn* as a possible origin of the bread wheats, and he urged to the last the need for study of impressions of grain on the insides of pots. The little plough, scratching the surface of soil in warm lands to keep it in fine tilth, was, in his view, less effective in cooler lands in which, with less evaporation, nutritive salts tend rather to sink in the soil. Here a great agricultural advance was made possible when iron could be used for arming a large ploughshare fitted to turn up the deeper soil. And he used to emphasize that with the big plough there came also the iron axe, increasing men's powers of clearing forest.

Observing, reflecting, suggesting, often with subtle wit, were leading features of Peake's intellectual activity. He would always try to conjure up a picture of the life of a people whose implements, pots, or monuments were under discussion. And he saw most vividly the continuity between prehistory and the present day. To him 'Iberians,' and so on, were not peoples who had vanished. They were constituents of present-day populations, and he often suggested that pre-Neolithic elements survive in considerable numbers amongst us. He had a vision of the evolutionary stream running through time and of the need for understanding its past course as a guide to the future. He helped many a younger worker and he, with Mrs. Peake while she lived, made Westbrook House, Boxford, near Newbury, a centre of light and of interest in anthropology, archaeology, folklore, drama, music, gardens, in fact almost everything that can unite, instead of dividing, men. He valued greatly the award of the Huxley Memorial Medal by the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1940, as a recognition of his long continued, indeed never failing, suggestions for interpretations of human affairs, past, present, even sometimes future, through evolutionary research, with a mind too objective to entertain dogmatic prejudice and a wit that played around every topic to the delight of his friends.

Among his many publications one may mention a long series of articles in the *Journal* of the Royal Anthropological Institute and in *MAN*, contributions to the Victoria County History of Berkshire, *The English Village* (1922), *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World* (1922), his presidential addresses 'The Beginnings of Civilization' (*J.R.A.I.* 1927), 'The Introduction of Civilization into Britain' (*ibid.* 1928), his Huxley Lecture 'The Study of Prehistoric Times' (*ibid.* 1940), *Origins of Agriculture* (1926), *The Flood* (1930) and *Early Steps in Human Progress* (1933), addresses to the Newbury Field Club, and the series of *Corridors of Time*, in the

preparation of which he was the senior partner. The tenth and last-planned volume of the series was held up by the war of 1939-45 and paper shortage, but he lived long enough to discuss a revision completed in August, 1946, and awaiting publication when restrictions are lessened.

It was characteristic of Westbrook House that its staff remained unchanged for over 45 years. Miss Mary Wilson contributed most interestingly to dramatic and to archaeological effort, and Miss Annie Plumb saw that the household machinery kept on its steady unhasting way.
H. J. FLEURE

REVIEWS

The Analysis of Social Change, Based on Observation in Central Africa. By Godfrey and Monica Wilson. Cambridge University Press, 1945. Pp. viii, 177. Price 7s. 6d.

Godfrey Wilson's death on active service during the latter part of the war was a grievous loss to social anthropology. As first Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute he himself initiated much of the current work in Africa upon problems of social change. His wife is the distinguished author of *Reaction to Conquest*. The theories of this book therefore are based upon hard, practical, and often unpleasant fact, the violently changing social scene of modern Africa. It may be questioned whether this is the best atmosphere from which to abstract generalizations concerning universal social process. Over ten years ago Bateson, writing in MAN in this same connexion, commented that: 'The laws of gravity cannot conveniently be studied by observation of houses collapsing in an earthquake.' The Wilsons, however, have attempted just that. If the result is a failure, it is a gallant one.

This is an important book for the paradoxical reason that while it sets out to clarify the ideas current in modern sociological theory, it in fact brings into startling relief the inadequate definition of current concepts and the inevitably confused thinking that results therefrom. As supporting detail for the theoretical discussion, we are provided with first-hand evidence of the present state of the Nyakyusa of Tanganyika, but it is on account of the theory rather than the facts that this book will provoke discussion. The text is replete with definitions. Some of the terms used have a long history, others are novelties, but all of them are here loaded with new and special meaning: such words as 'power,' 'autonomy,' 'prestige,' 'complexity,' 'opposition,' 'equilibrium,' and the rest, do not mean what you think. But one can object less to the coining of new technicalities than to the ruthless modification of old ones, especially when the tendency is to define one abstraction in terms of another. Positive and negative principles are recurrent through the whole series like the *yang* and the *yin* of classical Chinese, but, in concrete material terms, what are we to make of Culture as (p. 81) 'the positive content of human relations' as opposed to Structure, 'the negative form which makes relations possible by limiting them'? Thus, incidentally, is at least the fourth definition of social structure to be proposed by British anthropologists, not to mention their American and sociological colleagues, within the last ten years. Professor Radcliffe-Brown, who recently asserted that structure 'is an actually existing concrete reality to be directly observed' (*J.R.A.I.*, 1940, p. 4) may be dismayed to learn (p. 49) that social structure is 'in itself an empty form: it has neither value nor utility, significance nor informativeness, beauty nor technical serviceability.'

This quotation is an example of a general prolixity of style that serves to confuse rather than clarify the argument. An Hegelian mysticism, a veritable *Volkseeele*, seems for instance to underlie the following (p. 132): 'The positive or cultural forces of social change are new ideals, ideas and intuitions of beauty, and the discovery of new uses for material resources, of new facts and of new techniques. They draw men freely into new activities. Men change their accustomed ways of action, thought and expression not because they are compelled to do so, but because it seems to them better, more true, more beautiful, more economical, more accurate, or more skilful to do so.' I suspect that this

floridity conceals a certain immaturity of thought. The book is full of challenging but undigested ideas; the reader needs to be careful. He will find much of real value here provided he is not deterred by the efflorescent style and the galaxy of new technical terms. Since the authors avowedly aim at generalizations of a world-wide significance their actual conclusions are frequently very near to platitudes, but their line of argument is still worthy of careful consideration.

Considering its length, the attempted scope of this book is astonishing: not only do we have an analysis of economic, political, technical, and religious conditions in Central Africa, with discussions over the whole range of sociological theory, but the authors launch bravely into the metaphysical as well. The aesthetics of Renaissance painting and of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony are handled with the same confidence as Humanist Philosophy and the moral teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. One primary concept, however, underlies the whole treatment, namely the concept of *scale*, which in the Wilsons' hands is something more subtle than mere material size.

The Wilsons hold dogmatically (pp. 133, 173) that 'equilibrium is a fundamental social necessity' and that in any disequilibrium there is a tendency for equilibrium to be restored by a process of social change. 'The most general objective characteristic in which societies differ is their scale' (p. 173) and disequilibrium arises when different elements of society change from one scale-state to another at different rates. In particular, in the present African scene, disharmony results from the fact that the expansion of the material scale has outrun that of the religious scale. The resultant changes would restore harmony, were not new factors of disequilibrium being constantly introduced through further changes in the scale-framework. Thus the concept of scale is fundamental to the whole argument. But what is this scale? The scale of a society is defined (p. 25) as 'the number of people in relation, and the intensity of those relations.' Despite the smooth simplicity of this phrase it takes five pages (pp. 26-30) and seven extremely involved criteria to determine what is meant by 'intensity of relations,' and for my part it seems that the intellectual fog is thereby increased rather than diminished. For instance, what would a psychologist make of 'Criterion (iii)' which starts: 'Intensity of relations in a given group is to be measured by the proportion of emotional expression communicated within that group to the total expression of the society'?

In my opinion the book is a failure because this basic concept of scale is so obscurely defined that it fails to integrate the superstructure of argument. Yet out of all this one point at least challenges careful attention: by 'the number of people in relation' is meant not only the quick but also the dead. The scale of English society is larger than the scale of Bushman society because, among other things, 'the Englishman gets his food from the four quarters of the globe and is directly affected by the ideas of twenty-five centuries. The Bushman depends for food only upon his immediate neighbours and is affected by past generations only in so far as they are communicated to him by those elders whose life overlaps with his.' One can argue that we have here nothing more subtle than that literacy provides new opportunities for intellectual development. In that sense we are near to platitude; yet the question of the place and significance of the historical time scale in primitive mental and social organization is one of importance. Evans-Pritchard

has urged the purely relative and structural significance of past time among the Nuer. The Wilsons generalize this into an assertion (p. 27) that 'in primitive society the period (over which continuity is valued) is limited by the absence of traditions going back more than ten or twelve generations'; experts from Polynesia, please note! Yet however crude its present formulation, this idea deserves further development.

And so on through the book. The actual formulations are often either crass oversimplifications or else so wrapped up in verbiage as to be incomprehensible, but the ideas are there in plenty and deserve careful study. A book to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest, but the Lord save us from further burgeoning of the anthropological vocabulary!

E. R. LEACH

Aboriginal Australian String Figures. By Daniel Sutherland Davidson. *Proc. Amer. Philosoph. Soc.*, Vol. 84, No. 6, Aug. 1941

String figures now have their definite place in anthropological literature, and this latest contribution forms a very valuable addition. The author, besides describing sixty-eight figures and six tricks from Australia, gives a comparative table showing their distribution throughout Oceania, and also, in his preface, a most useful summary of our present knowledge of the whole subject.

The collection of string figures from Australia is of especial interest for, as Mr. Davidson points out, it was the first continent from which they were reported, and has since been, perhaps, the most neglected. With the encroachment of the white races over the blackfellows' territory, moreover, string figures, like other native customs, tend to disappear rapidly and should be studied as soon as possible. A good many collections of the finished figures have been made and are of considerable interest, but it is more important to learn the method of formation, as it is quite common to get the same result by different techniques.

Although string figures must have been in existence in Oceania for a very long time, Mr. Davidson does not consider that they are of great antiquity in Australia, but that they are of comparative recent introduction. The centre of diffusion

is probably North Queensland where the greatest number and variety is found, whereas in Central Australia there are much fewer and in Western Australia only half a dozen figures have been recorded, the aborigines themselves saying that they were unknown in their childhood. The westward trend of string figures is borne out by cultural evidences in the north-west; for instance, certain tribes, who lacked nets in aboriginal times, make a string figure which is common to neighbouring net-making tribes to the east and which is known to all of them as 'net.' In this instance the string figure has preceded in its diffusion the article it represents. Probably the more common phenomenon is to find both the imported article and the string figure representing it together in the new locality, as the reviewer found in North Queensland. Here, as elsewhere in Australia, musical instruments are practically nonexistent, but a few had been introduced from neighbouring lands; for instance, there were some drums brought from Papua. But more interesting still, the aborigines also knew a string figure representing a drum which was exactly the same as one collected from the Fly estuary, whence the drums also probably came.

Queensland figures in general show a strong affinity with those from Melanesia, and, in fact, evidence seems to indicate that Australia, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia together comprise a major string-figure area with distinctive figures, manipulations, and extensions not reported elsewhere. It is rather difficult to say exactly what constitutes an area, but anyone who has studied the subject knows that there are certain likenesses—curious twists or extensions—that characterize a whole group of figures. For instance, Eskimo figures, taken as a whole, could never be confused with a Polynesian series, and the South American figures, again, form a different complex. When the subject has been more worked over it is possible that it may be of real aid in the study of cultural movements and meantime the important thing is to collect as much material as possible. That real enjoyment may be extracted from this collecting in no wise detracts from its importance.

Mr. Davidson's paper is illustrated with a map and drawings of each finished figure, together with comparative tables, a short bibliography, and an index. K. RISHBETH

CORRESPONDENCE

Antiquities of Dominica and Santo Domingo: A Correction. Cf. MAN, 1946, 47.

SIR,—In MAN, 1946, 47, appears a note of the writer entitled 'Antiquities of Dominica (Haiti),' which is a somewhat hybrid combination of pieces of a correspondence on different civilizations.

(1) To begin with, *Dominica*, one of the lesser Antillean islands, situated in the British West Indies, has been confounded with the island of *Santo Domingo* (first known as *Hispaniola*, and often referred to under the indigenous name of *Haiti*).

(2) The writer's scope in addressing a British scholar was to find out whether the Haitian *Negro* tombohuses (MAN, 1946, 47, fig. 3) could possibly be connected with West African types, and eventually be regarded as a distant echo of Roman sepulchral constructions in North Africa of the second and third centuries A.D. The easier alternative (as it seems to the writer) would be to derive the type from local timber-built constructions. The writer's correspondent kindly forwarded the inquiry to MAN.

(3) The rest of the note consists of travel experiences and references (not intended for publication) to pre-Columbian remains. No continuity of artistic trends exists between them and the still practised *Negro* architecture, the Indians of the island having practically already died out before the middle of the sixteenth century. May I take this opportunity to straighten out several misunderstandings?

(4) The 'monumental stone,' which appears in fig. 1, is about the centre of the so-called *Corral* or *Cercado de los Indios* (Indian circus) at San Juan de la Maguana near the S.W. Haitian border of the Dominican Republic, the country which

occupies the Eastern half of the island. The vast stone circus, of a total circumference of about 2,270 feet, consists of two concentric rows of flat river-polished stones of 30–50 lb. each, which form a kind of continuous ring 20 feet wide. The spot was discovered and first described in 1851 by Sir Robert Schomburgk,¹ British Consul in the then newly founded Dominican Republic, who made the measurements indicated. The 'centre stone,' 5 feet 7 inches high,² actually somewhat out of focus in fig. 1, occupied its present situation already in 1851. The upper part of the slightly inverted stele is decorated by a circular-shaped face; its technique of engraving, often completed by other signs of anthropomorphization of the pillar, recurs in several (unfortunately unpublished) pieces in the island. A kind of road, the width of which in its present state varies between 30 and 58 feet, according to the writer's measurements, and which is paved by the same type of cobbles, leaves the periphery of the circle in a westerly direction, turning then sharply north and leading to a nearby rivulet. The 'circus' has long been associated with similar monuments on the American continent.³ As Schomburgk readily recognized, it can hardly be attributed to the Indians found on the island by Columbus. However, nothing definite can be stated until the whole complex is explored.

(5) The local legends mentioned at the beginning of the note (MAN, 1946, 47) refer exclusively to the cave near Constanza (a place situated at 3,600 feet above sea-level in the Cordillera Central of the island), which indeed has been 'discovered' by the writer. The bas-relief (fig. 2) is, despite Mr. Brauholtz's statement, distinctly *tainan*. Similar pieces of cave decoration are found all over the numerous caves of the island⁴ and have also been discovered in the neighbouring island of

Cuba, where identification has been undertaken through occupation remains. Unfortunately the cave, like most of the Dominican caves, has not yet been explored properly.

With regard to Greek crosses, rhomboid symbols developed out of that cross, and swastikas; they were first published in the pioneer work of Alberti y Bosch,⁵ and have since been found in Haiti⁶ as well as in Cuba.⁷

(6) The so-called *Casa de la Reina*, the 'Queen's House,' at Constanza, was likewise discovered and described by Schomburgk⁸ as consisting of two longitudinal walls directed W.N.W., with open sides towards N.N.E. They were then about 6 feet high, 256 feet long and stood 165 feet apart. Today they are hardly extant above ground.⁹ Schomburgk identified the complex as a ball-court.

(7) Finally, the 'monstrous' small clay heads come from vases (as Mr. Brauholtz has correctly recognized), and are of the well-known *tainan* type. The personal appreciations of a classical archaeologist, who, of course, was neither looking for a 'European style' nor trying to apply an *interpretatio romana*, should not be considered as utterances of sympathy or antipathy, two things which have little to do with science and still less with a definite aesthetic evaluation. The German archaeologist, Gerhardt, is said to have put aside Greek vases mythologically uninteresting with the angry remark: 'Only beautiful.' I should have little difficulty in applying the reverse to *tainan* art (not aboriginal American art in general): 'Only interesting.' ERWIN WALTER PALM
University of Sto. Domingo

NOTES

¹ 'Ethnological researches in San Domingo,' *Revue des Deux Mondes*; the writer has at hand only a Spanish translation, *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, Ciudad Trujillo, R.D., 1942, V, pp. 164 seq.

When the writer visited the spot in 1945, the 'circle' seemed rather a polygon: the width of the stone track measured only 13 feet. The writer was told that the site had undergone various changes during the American occupation 1916-22.

² The writer measured 5 feet $\frac{1}{2}$ inch; width 1 foot $\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

³ Narciso Alberti y Bosch, *Apuntes para la prehistoria de Quisqueya*, I, La Vega, R.D., 1912, pp. 123 seq.

⁴ Cf. Alberti y Bosch, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁵ Valuable for its collection of materials, but fantastic in its theories: for swastikas, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 58; for Greek crosses, cf. phot., p. 64 (La Guacara Cave), and design, p. 118 (Caño Hondo Cave).

⁶ Edmond Mangos et Louis Maximilien, *L'art précolombien d'Haiti*, Port-au-Prince, 1941, p. 20 (Zim Cave).

⁷ René Herrera Fritot, 'Informe sobre una exploración arqueológica a Punta del Este, Isla de Pinos,' *Revista de la Universidad de la Habana*, La Habana, 1939, fig. 18; *idem*, 'Discusión sobre el posible origen de las pictografías de Punta del Este, Isla de Pinos,' *Memorias de la Sociedad Cubana de Historia Natural*, La Habana, 1939, XIII, p. 308, plate 42.

⁸ 'A Visit to the Valley of Constanza,' *The Athenæum*, London, July, 1852, no. 1291, pp. 727 seq.

⁹ The reproduction *apud* Luis Padilla D'Onis, *Historia de Santo Domingo, I, Prehistoria Dominicana*, 'Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia,' 71, Mexico, 1943, p. 306, taken from Alberti y Bosch, *op. cit.*, is absolutely unreliable.

[The Editor of MAN expresses to Professor Palm his profound regret for the confusion resulting from his attempt to combine the information communicated in several letters, without submitting his draft for revision. He begs readers of MAN to make the necessary cross-reference in their copies of MAN, 1946, 47. J. L. M.]

The Bust of Berat. Cf. MAN, 1946, 29.

48 SIR,—In connexion with the article 'The Bust of Berat,' by Margaret Hasluck (MAN, 1946, 29), and the story told of the sacrifice of a woman and her infant child, during the building of the Pasha's bridge over the

Haliakmon, E. B. Tylor in *Primitive Culture* (1871, Vol. I, p. 95) relates a Serbian legend, in almost identical words, concerning the building of the fortress of Skadra (Scutari) in Albania.

As each story relates to three brothers and their wives, and sacrifice of the wife and infant of the youngest brother, the leaving of an opening for the child to be suckled through, etc., it would be interesting to know which story is the older, or whether they are based on an earlier version, which has become widely diffused in European folk-lore, associated with foundation and building sacrifices.

VERNON BRELSFORD

[N.B.—The story is wide-spread in Balkan lands: see references in Mrs. Hasluck's article. J. L. M.]

The Orthography of Archæology

49 SIR,—The great variety of spelling used in recent works on archæology has moved me to suggest that some sort of rule, based upon geographical precedent, might well be employed in making adjectival forms from the place-names used in prehistoric archæology. The geographical rule is by no means constant, and depends partly upon accepted pronunciation, but it would seem that where the root used ends in an -e, the adjectival form makes -ean (*Ægean*). Where the root ends in -a, the adjectival form generally makes -an (*African, American*, etc., though tradition has given us the anomalous *Canadian*). In most other cases the adjectival form makes -ian. I am excluding cases where -ish and -ic are employed, such as *British, Celtic*, etc.

It would seem logical, therefore, to suggest the use of the following spellings, all of which have considerable precedent: Chellean, Abbevillean (if that replacement of the traditional Chellean finds acceptance), Acheulian, Mousterian (or, better, Moustierian), Levalloisian, Aurignacian, Magdalenean, Solutrean, Azilian (or Azillian), etc. In Africa the two forms Capsian (Capsa) and Tumbian (Tumba) follow the anomalous Canadian, and not the analogy of Gumban. Native names provide difficulties, sometimes overcome by local European tradition, as in the case of Oldowayan (Olduvai). In South Africa we have avoided any special adjectival forms, partly because of obvious difficulties, and partly as they seem unnecessary.

It would be of considerable help if some sort of 'house-rule' for the spelling of these and other terms in English could be devised.

A. J. H. GOODWIN
University of Cape Town

[The difficulty is that some forms use English, others (like Canadian, Capsian) borrowed from French in two vocalizations. To write correctly, observers in other fields must observe in writing as well.—J. L. M.]

Baigona and Figona. Cf. MAN, 1946, 66.

50 SIR,—Your correspondent Dr. Alphonse Riesenfeld suggests (MAN, 1946, 66) that the founder of the Baigona cult might have picked up the idea while working as an indentured labourer in the Solomons. If the man in question was in fact a native of Papua, this would hardly have been possible, as the removal of Papuan natives to work as indentured labourers in other territories was prohibited in 1884.

LUCY MAIR
London School of Economics

The Trobriand Islands, 1945. Cf. MAN, 1946, 67.

51 SIR,—May I draw the attention of readers of my letter published under this heading (MAN, 1946, 67), to the recent paper of Leo Austen, 'Culture Change in Kiriwina,' *Oceania*, Vol. XVI, pp. 15-69. This had not appeared when my letter was despatched. My stay in the islands was limited to a few days: Mr. Austen's study is based on several years' experience as Resident Magistrate.

H. IAN HOGGIN
University of Sydney

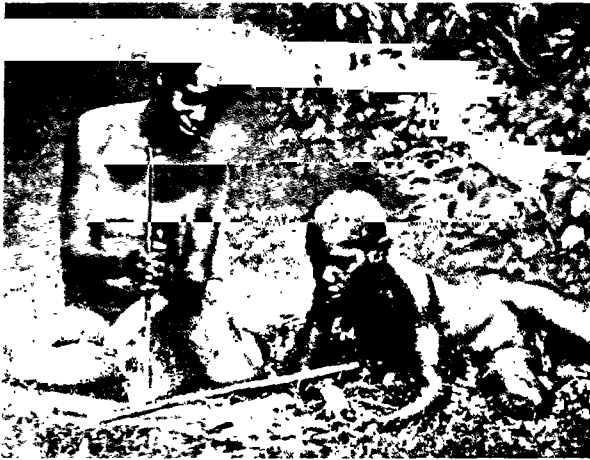


FIG. 1.—AUSTRALIAN FIRE-TWIRL



FIG. 2.—ESKIMO FIRE-DRILL

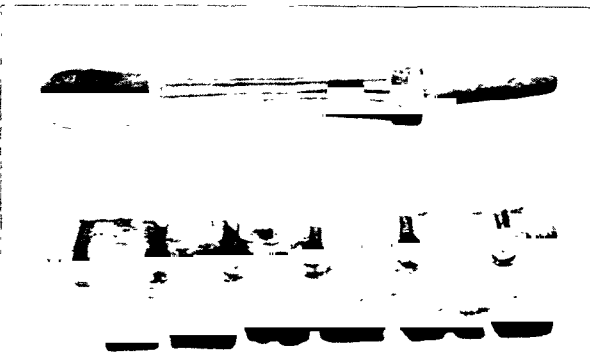


FIG. 3.—KING TUTANKHAMEN'S DRILL

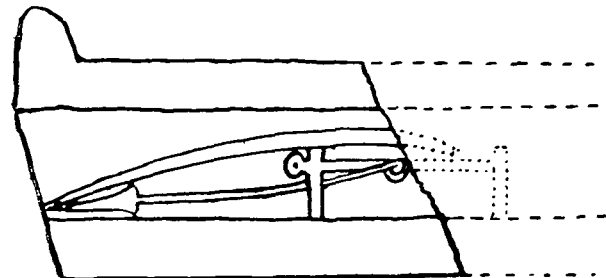


FIG. 4.—ANTIQUÉ LATHE, FROM A TOMBSTONE

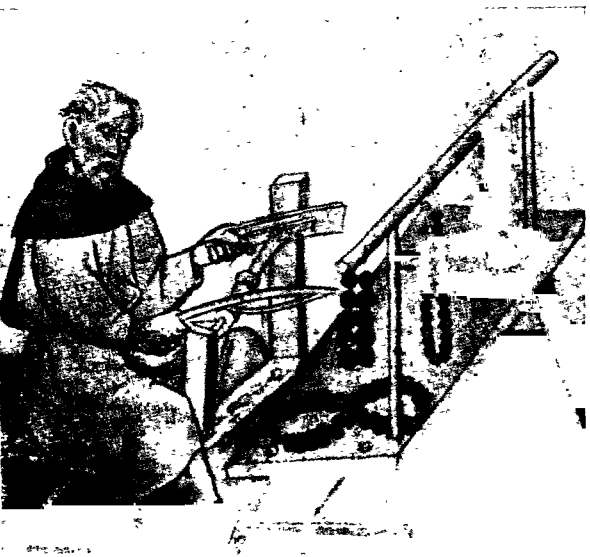


FIG. 5.—DRAWING FROM MENDEL'S "CHRONICLE"



FIG. 6.—DRAWING FROM VAN ATIETH

THE ORIGIN OF THE DRIVING BELT

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

THE ORIGIN OF THE DRIVING BELT. By Professor George Lechler, Ph.D., Wayne University, Detroit.
With Plate D and illustrations in the text

52 Pre-man had parted from the animal stage statically and dynamically by the acquisition of the upright walk. This took place during the end of the Pliocene. Then after the Pleistocene or Ice Age had started pre-man became man. This mental process is proven by a twofold evidence. First: he produced intentionally shaped tools, of fixed types which necessitate the ability of abstract thinking. Second: he had learned to use fire. This he used as protective weapon against beast, as warmth-giving agent, and for food-preparation. It separated man definitely from the animal stage and was the decisive cultural step, since the process of culture means gradual liberation from domination by environment.

How did early man kindle fire? American anthropologists think that striking flint was the method used in the very beginning, having originated as a by-product of tool-chipping. Besides this method, primitive natives of today apply two other methods: the fire-saw; and the fire-twirl, which developed into the fire-drill. Both methods produce fire by friction. Two pieces of wood, one hard and one soft, are rubbed against each other. The fire-twirl and fire-drill produce friction by rotation. The twirl is illustrated in Plate D, 1. The rotating stick is placed vertically upon a horizontal board and the stick is rotated between the palms, just as English housewives used to beat eggs with the old-fashioned twirling-stick. The rotation of the fire-drill is produced by a bow the string of which is looped around the stick (Plate D, 2). Circular motion represents an advanced and therefore later stage, just as the saddle-quern gave way to rotating millstones or the sledge to the wagon with its turning wheels. Anthropologists agree that the fire-drill with 'fiddle-bow' necessitates as supposition the pre-existence of the hunting bow. This offers the possibility of a *terminus post quem* for the beginning of the use of the fire-drill. Arrow-heads appear first in Europe during the Aurignacian, the oldest period of the Upper Palaeolithic, contemporary with the advance of the Wurm I (Wisconsin I) glaciation. If we follow the astronomical chronology developed by Milankovic, which is based upon the history of solar radiation, it would mean that this happened between 110,000 and 75,000 B.C.¹ The objection that bow and arrow might have been used before the Aurignacian has little substantiation. Of course, the first arrows were neither flint-tipped nor hartshorn-tipped.² But the bow was unknown to the native Australians, who are the only group of mankind with close affinity to Neandertal or primeval man of the Lower Palaeolithic era. Aurignac man belonged to *Homo sapiens* or man of modern type. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the bow did not exist prior to the domination of *Homo sapiens* in the Aurignacian period. In accordance with this we find the Australians using the fire-twirl, but not the fire-drill. If we compare the device used by the Eskimos (Plate D, 2), we realize its mechanical perfection—not only that the rotation is produced by fiddling with a bow, but other devices are added, the stick being fitted into a mouthpiece which permits the Eskimo to hold it with his mouth so that his other hand is free to feed tinder around the rotating stick. This tinder is made from dry mosses. Furthermore, holes and slits are cut into the bed-plate to permit accumulation of tinder and access of air.

Carl Gorjanovic-Kramberger³ found in 1904 at Krapina in an Aurignacian stratum a charred round stick of beechwood, the end of which was ground off as the result of quick rotation. He therefore interpreted it as a remnant of a fire-drill. The interpretation naturally met with scepticism, but the possibility should be admitted.

The prehistoric existence of the fire-drill all over Europe is well established.⁴ Nevertheless, finds are

¹ Summarized by Zeuner in *Geol. Magazine*, Vol. LXXII, p. 350.

² The rock paintings in South-eastern Spain, which belong to the Capsian, contemporary with the Aurignacian and Magdalenian, show bowmen—their arrows without any tips.

³ F. M. Feldhaus, *Die Technik der Vorzeit*, Leipzig, 1914, p. 305.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 50, 1918, pp. 198-203.

extremely rare. Among the ancient writers who mention it, two give the most detail: Theophrastus, in 320 B.C., tells us (V. 9. 6) that sticks of hard laurel wood were used with ivy for bed-plate. And since Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xvi, 77) reports the same, we must suppose that this was standard in the Mediterranean area. The laurel was sacred to Apollo, the sun god, and ivy was sacred to Dionysos, a god of fertility.

The fire-drill (Plate D, 3) found in the tomb of King Tutankhamen (1353 B.C.⁵) is quite similar to the Eskimo drill. It served on one hand the same purpose as our matches today, to kindle fire, but it was so constructed that the head of the drill could be changed and used as a carpenter's tool (see fig. 7). This brings us to the devices which sprang off from the fire-drill, during the Middle Stone Age. The stone mace with a hafting hole is a most widely distributed weapon of the Middle Stone Age of the Near East and is found in Europe too. The 'pick-axe'

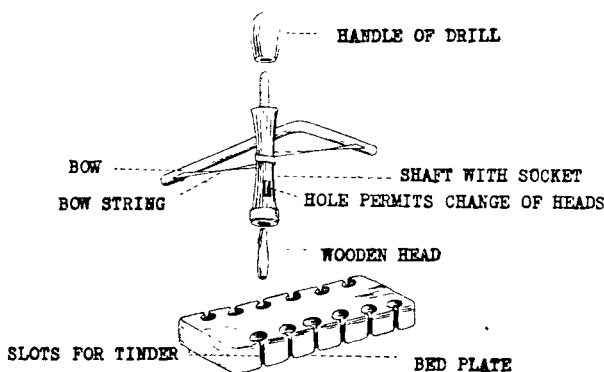


FIG. 7.—KING TUTANKHAMEN'S DRILL, RESTORED

pecked into its shape from a stone is the first battle-axe type in Europe with a hole drilled through it for hafting. This type belongs to the Middle Stone Age of Thuringia-Bohemia. Later, in the New Stone Age, the battle-axe became so common in Europe that this period was often called the battle-axe age. The 'machine' used to drill the shaft-holes was developed from the fire-drill. This machine was naturally also used as a fire-drill. H. Reinerth has reconstructed it⁶ according to finds made in the Neolithic lake-dwellings, where wooden material is quite well preserved (see fig. 8, where this stone drill is contrasted with a modern electric drill used to drill iron or steel). The grinding agent of the Stone-Age drill was sand which, whirled around by the rotation of the drilling stick, lodges in the wood-fibre: these sand particles do the grinding. The softer the wood, the better the grinding. Sticks of elderberry-wood give the best results: and, since they are

hollow, they grind out a cylindrical tube only. Cylinder-cores, the results of such drillings, are found quite frequently. This method shortened the labour considerably.

But prehistoric technique continued into historic periods. Thus the lathe which developed from the Stone-Age drill is only a modification of it. This development took place during the second millennium B.C. in Egypt, but was of rare occurrence by Greek and Roman times. The reports of ancient writers are discussed and interpreted by Blümner,⁷ but so far as I can see there is only one archaeological representation of an antique lathe,⁸ on a tombstone of a gem-cutter



FIG. 8.—LAKE-DWELLING DRILL: MODEL

c. A.D. 100 (Plate D, 4). The fiddle-bow drives the horizontal spindle with a round grinding head on it. This astonishingly primitive lathe continued to exist unchanged even through mediæval times. One of the best pictures of a turner (Plate D, 5) is found in the *Chronicle* of the Konrad Mendel foundation in Nuremberg.⁹ A brother, painted in A.D. 1390, is shown fiddling the bow as he cuts rosary-beads. But the prehistoric inheritance continued even further. It seems unbelievable that the modern driving belt

⁵ Hugo Blümner, *Technologie bei Griechen u. Römern*, Leipzig, 1884.

⁸ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Athenische Abteilung*, Vol. 15, 1890, p. 333.

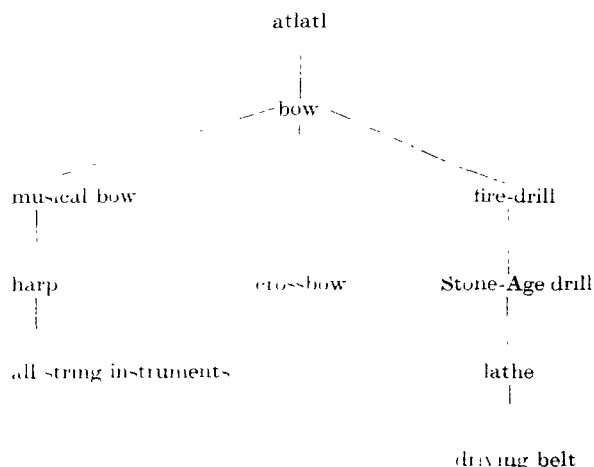
⁹ National Museum, Nuremberg.

⁶ H. Carter, *Tutankhamun*, Vol. III, Leipzig, 1934, Pl. 37.
⁷ The model reconstructed by him is exhibited in the Detroit Institute of Arts.

used for transmission of power from the engine to the different machines developed from the old hunting bow *via* fire-drill and lathe. But an etching by Jan T. van Vlieth done in 1635 (Plate D, 6) illustrates the run of events very well.¹⁰ The former fiddle-bow of the mediæval lathe is 'enlarged.' A long elastic lath is attached to a beam near the ceiling and the string which drives the lathe is pulled by a pedal on the floor in order to increase the pulling power by the weight of the body. The turner working at the lathe produced the furniture and things pictured around him. The chisels used by him are seen on the wall. When the steam engine was invented, the familiar device of power-transfer was continued as driving belt.

The hunting bow has therefore played an important role in the development of technique. We have touched here only on one line of evolution. Concluding, it may be recalled that another lineage led to the crossbow; but more important in human culture than this weapon was the third line, which led

into the realm of music. For the musical bow and the harp—in short, all the string instruments, including the mechanized ones like the piano—are descendants of the bow too. If we turn backward and ask after the ancestor of the bow itself we see that the *atlatl* or dart-thrower was its forerunner and was used as early as the primeval times of the Lower Palæolithic, some hundred thousands of years back.



¹⁰ Dimitri Rovinski, *L'œuvre grave des élèves de Rembrandt*, St. Petersburg, 1894, Vol. I, fig. 223.

LES ÉTUDES ANTHROPOLOGIQUES ET ETHNOLOGIQUES EN PORTUGAL. *Communicated by Professor Eusebio Tamagnini, University of Coimbra, to the Royal Anthropological Institute : 18 April, 1946*

53 C'est avec la plus grande satisfaction que je m'adresse à une assistance aussi sélecte, devant en premier lieu remercier le *Royal Anthropological Institute* de l'honneur qu'il me donne en me facilitant l'occasion de dire quelques simples mots sur l'Anthropologie et les études ethno-anthropologiques en Portugal au cours de ces dernières années.

Je pense qu'au lieu de quelque prétentieuse dissertation sur un problème restreint de ce champ scientifique, il sera plus intéressant de faire une communication, même sommaire, de l'évolution que les études qui nous intéressent ont subi dans mon pays, de leur état actuel, et de leurs futures perspectives.

Je n'ai pas la prétention de traiter le sujet à fond, ce qui m'amènerait trop loin et m'obligerait à dépasser les limites du temps qui m'est accordé et à lasser votre patience. Seulement quelques traits généraux indiquant les tendances de l'enseignement, et un ou autre détail se rapportant aux problèmes concrets abordés.

Les études universitaires de l'Anthropologie commencèrent à Coimbra (1885) avec la création de la chaire d'Anthropologie, Paléontologie humaine et Archéologie préhistorique.

En dehors de l'Université il y avait cependant déjà à cette date des personnes de valeur qui s'intéressaient

à ces études, surtout à la Paléontologie humaine et à la Préhistoire, comme on le vérifia lors du IX^{me}. Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistorique réalisé à Lisbonne en 1880. Et, en ce qui se rapporte à l'Anthropologie physique aussi, on pouvait déjà signaler des savants de mérite, comme par exemple Ferraz de Macedo.

La création de la chaire d'Anthropologie à l'Université de Coimbra vint, cependant, donner une impulsion décisive à ces études, non seulement à cause de la coordination des méthodes de recherches, mais encore par la garantie de la continuité des efforts des savants.

Le plan des études comprenait deux sections, une de Morphologie et l'autre d'Archéologie préhistorique, le problème fondamental étant la place de l'homme dans le système des Primates.

Avec le Professeur Bernardino Machado les études évoluèrent dans le sens de la Craniométrie, en vogue à cette époque, d'importantes études ayant été effectuées sur les Portugais, études qui se trouvent réunies dans les mémoires qui constituent les *Travaux de la Classe d'Anthropologie*.

Avec l'organisation universitaire de 1911, les études anthropologiques eurent un grand développement, dû à la création de l'enseignement de l'Anthropologie dans les Universités de Lisbonne et de Porto.

Les études effectuées, les méthodes de travail et les points de vue respectifs peuvent minutieusement s'apprécier dans les trois séries de publications :

- I. *Contributions à l'étude d'Anthropologie Portugaise*, Coimbra.
- II. *Archives d'Anatomie et d'Anthropologie*, Lisbonne.
- III. *Travaux de la Société d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnologie*, Porto.

L'étude de l'Ethnologie, qui dans la chaire primitive, à l'Université de Coimbra, était liée à celle de l'Anthropologie physique, passa avec la création des Facultés de Lettres en 1930 à faire partie de ces cours dans la section des sciences géographiques.

Cependant, dans l'Institut d'Anthropologie de l'Université de Porto fonctionne un Centre d'Études de l'Ethnologie péninsulaire, et l'Ethnologie Coloniale a constitué un secteur, qui a beaucoup intéressé les savants qui s'en occupent. (Cf. L'École Anthropologique de Porto.)

Dans la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Lisbonne, les études palethnologiques se poursuivent sous la direction du Dr. M. Heleno, directeur du Muséum Ethnologique Portugais, où se trouvent les plus riches collections de matériel archéologique et préhistorique de continent portugais. (Cf. *Archéologu Português*.)

Dans le champ ethno-anthropologique, hors de l'ambiance universitaire, l'Association des Archéologues Portugais mérite aussi une note spéciale : parmi ses membres se trouvent de notables travailleurs et savants d'Archéologie, tel que le Père Eugenio Jalhay et d'autres qui dernièrement se sont beaucoup préoccupés de l'étude de plusieurs stations préhistoriques des âges du bronze et du fer, etc.

Et, se rapportant à ces études, il faut aussi citer l'institution au Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale d'un organisme avec représentation de tous les Centres de recherches anthropologiques, ethnologiques et archéologiques, avec l'objectif de veiller à la protection et la conservation des documents relatifs à la Paléthnologie portugaise (Junta Nacional de Educação, 2^e sub-section de la 6^e section : Antiquités, Excavations et Numismatique). Au Ministère des Colonies on a créé aussi la Junta das Missões Geográficas e Investigações Coloniais pour l'étude de l'Anthropologie et Ethnologie des peuples de nos Colonies.

Dans l'Université de Lisbonne les études anthropologiques, après la mort de A. Costa Ferreira, ancien élève de Coimbra, ont été dirigées par le Professeur Henrique de Vilhena qui a consacré le meilleur de son effort et de son intelligence à l'étude de la variation des systèmes organiques comme base pour la définition de la différence des races humaines.

L'enseignement de l'anthropologie dans la Faculté

des Sciences de Lisbonne est confié au Professeur Barbosa Sueiro, un élève de H. Vilhena, qui exécute un programme moderne, où les différentes questions théoriques et pratiques sont dûment considérées.

La responsabilité de l'orientation des études anthropologiques à l'Université de Porto appartient au Professeur Mendes Corrêa, qui lui a imprimé une direction générale et compréhensive : 'l'étude intégral comparé de l'homme et des groupes humains,' comprenant par conséquent l'Anthropologie zoologique, l'Anthropologie physique ethnique (l'Ethnologie selon l'école de Broca), l'Anthropologie psychique et culturelle (l'Ethnologie d'autres écoles ; Ethnographie dans un sens commun), la Préhistoire, etc.

Dans l'Université de Porto, il faut aussi signaler la notable activité de l'Institut d'Anatomie sous la direction de l'illustre Professeur J. A. Pires de Lima, particulièrement dans le domaine de la Craniologie et de l'Anthropologie des parties non osseuses.

Dans le champ de l'Anthropologie appliquée nous devons faire référence aux trois Instituts de Criminologie d'où sont sorties d'importantes études anthropologiques (cf. *Boletim do Instituto de Criminologia*), méritant cependant une remarque particulière l'Institut A. A. Costa Ferreira, dirigé par la haute compétence de notre collègue Dr. Victor Fontes, spécialement consacré à 'l'assistance des enfants anormaux portugais.' Ce qu'a été son activité dans ce champ si important des études anthropologiques, peut s'apprécier par les quatre volumes publiés de son Bulletin, *L'enfant portugais*, et les trois volumes de ses *Monographies*.

Dans l'Université de Coimbra l'orientation des études anthropologiques est sous ma responsabilité. S'encadrant rigoureusement dans le cercle de l'histoire naturelle, l'enseignement de l'anthropologie physique se limite à un programme nettement morpho-physiologique, en rapport avec le système des Primates, et les problèmes de la filogénèse humaine envisagés selon les trois grandes lignes classiques de recherches : morpho-physiologie et embryologie comparée des formes actuelles et leur valorisation systématique à la lumière des données paléontologiques.

Dans le champ de l'Anthropologie ethnique mon Institut s'est efforcé d'accumuler des données numériques relatives à la somatologie des portugais actuels, réalisant de grandes recherches se référant aux caractères les plus variés : pigmentation, stature, indices céphaliques, faciaux, nasal, orbital, groupes sanguins, etc., dans le but d'éclaircir la position des portugais dans le cadre des races européennes, en utilisant toujours la technique la plus conseillée et en faisant la réduction des données par les méthodes statistiques les plus rigoureuses.

Je veux profiter de l'occasion, pour, de cette place,

présenter mes meilleurs remerciements à un des plus illustres anthropologues anglais, le Docteur W. L. H. Duckworth, dont l'orientation dans le champ de la morphologie anthropologique a contribué pour une bonne part à ma préparation d'enseignement, et dont l'œuvre pour ainsi dire classique qui est son traité, notable à tants de titres, *Morphology and Anthropology*, est encore aujourd'hui un des manuels constamment consultés par mes élèves.

Et je désire aussi évoquer en ce moment la mémoire du grand statisticien le Professeur Karl Pearson, dont les méthodes biométriques rigoureuses sont encore aujourd'hui un levier puissant pour la recherche anthropologique qui systématiquement s'emploie dans mon laboratoire.

L'évolution et le développement des méthodes de génétique expérimentale avec son application au champ anthropologique ont déterminé des modifications corrélatives dans les méthodes d'études et dans les techniques à employer. Et ainsi, de la phase de l'analyse phénotipique qui caractérise les études de l'Anthropologie ethnique des décades passées, on va passant à l'étude de la phénogénèse par l'emploi de méthodes adéquates soit de génétique, soit de statistique biologique.

Dans cet ordre d'idées, on commença dans mon Institut l'étude systématique de la phénogénèse des mélanines par rapport à la question de mécanisme héréditaire de la pigmentation humaine (Professeur J. A. Serra).

Et en reconnaissant que la statistique des masses ne pourra que très difficilement fournir des éclaircissements suffisants sur le mécanisme héréditaire de la grande majorité des caractères somatiques, les études dans notre Institut ont évolué dans le sens de la méthode généalogique, pour ce qui se trouve en organisation assez avancée le fichier des familles du département de Coimbra : qui comprend déjà plus de 25,000 fiches. Dans cette direction de l'emploi des méthodes généalogiques nous avons réalisé une étude sur l'hérédité des groupes sanguins en plusieurs familles de Portugais, en plus de la statistique des masses concernant la population en général, dont les groupes du système A-B-O ont été déterminés (Professeur E. Tamagnini).

Et maintenant, je veux profiter de cette occasion

pour présenter mes plus chaleureuses salutations à un autre illustre Professeur anglais—le Professeur R. A. Fisher, auquel la Génétique en général et l'Anthropologie spécialement sont débiteurs des plus élégantes et efficientes méthodes d'analyse statistique que je connaisse.

La méthode de plus grande vraisemblance, en référence au problème de l'estimation statistique, et la méthode d'analyse de la variance dans la recherche des différences inter- et intra-raciales, sont des instruments de précision qu'aucun anthropologue ne peut jamais s'abstenir d'employer.

Et il m'est agréable aussi de rapporter que mon Institut doit au British Council la bonne fortune de, durant deux ans, pouvoir maintenir dans sa vie scientifique un élève illustre du Professeur Fisher, le Dr. W. L. Stevens, qui nous a familiarisé avec ses méthodes statistiques et nous a habitué à leur application la plus convenable.

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HANDMADE POTTERY OF THE URALI KURUMBARS OF WYNAD, S. INDIA. By A. Aiyappan, M.A., Ph.D., Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras. Illustrated

54 Though the potter's wheel has more or less displaced the more primitive modes of manufacturing pottery among Indian hill tribes, crude methods not involving the use of the wheel survive in several localities in tribal India. Potters from the plains with their more efficient wheel-turned ware

have established their business in most tribal areas. This is also what has happened in Wynad and other parts of Malabar. The indigenous potters of Malabar use a disc-like tournette, as also do the Kota potters of the Nilgiris, but the Telugu and Tamil potters, who use the more effective spoked wheel, have succeeded

in penetrating into the remotest corners of Malabar to the detriment of the interests of the indigenous and tribal craftsmen in earthenware. The bulk of the pottery needed by the inhabitants of Wynad is supplied by the immigrant potters. Unknown except to those familiar with Wynad, a small tribe of local artisans, called the Uralis or Urali Kurumbars, still

plains or by the non-Wynad potters who have settled recently in that area.

The clay used is usually taken from the fields and is greyish-white in colour. It is beaten well with a wooden pestle till it is wax-like in consistency, and then it is made into lumps of approximately the same size as the vessels that are to be made from them (fig. 1). No special tempering material is added. The lumps of clay are then given, by hand, the rough shape of the vessels to be made, and then rounded by beating with a wooden mallet (fig. 2). While they are beaten, the lumps are kept on a plank of wood (fig. 1). The neck of the vessel is made by scooping out the clay from the corresponding part below the rim. When the required shape has been obtained, the rim is cut clean.

All the time, the potter, it must be remembered, has been dealing with a solid mass of clay. When some of the water has been allowed to evaporate, the major



FIG. 1. LUMP OF CLAY (RIGHT) AND THE WOODEN BOARD ON WHICH IT IS WORKED

manufacture earthenware utensils, following one of the most primitive methods known to anthropologists. It can be said that a pottery technique cruder than that employed by the Uralis is unknown to folk technology.

These Uralis are a Canarese-speaking tribe of smiths, wood-workers, and agriculturists, employed nowa-



FIG. 2—WOODEN MALLET AND POTS PARTLY MADE (RIGHT) AND FINISHED

days as estate labourers and wood-cutters. They regard the plough as a tabooed tool, for which reason they practise only hoe culture. The utensils manufactured by the Uralis are for the limited local markets and for those natives of Wynad who have a fancy for local goods. Larger vessels are beyond the skill of the Uralis and are usually supplied from the

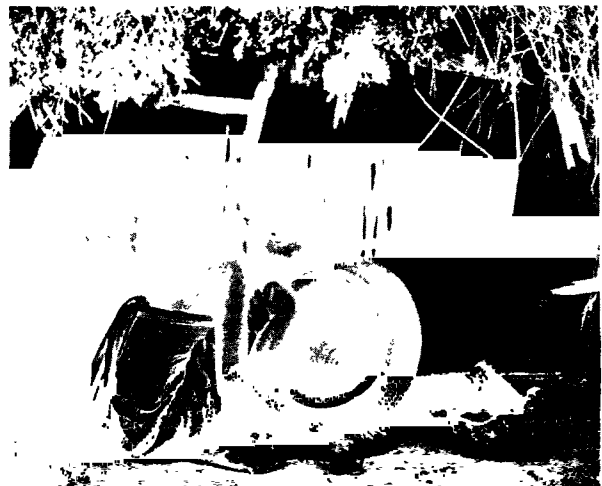


FIG. 3.—WOMAN FINISHING A POT

operation of scooping out the clay from inside commences. This is done with a thin blade made of the outer rind of green bamboo (*kebbalie*). The scooping is a laborious process and takes a good deal of time. After further drying in the sun, the inside as well as the outside is polished by rubbing with a quartz pebble (fig. 3). The woman in the photograph keeps her pot on a ring of straw and is engaged in polishing it. She fills minute holes and inequalities in the pot with fine clay, while the polishing is being done. The Urali technique does not allow the thickness of their ware to be reduced beyond a safe minimum, lest the scooping process and the pressure of the hands cause the vessel, when still wet, to collapse. Very often small bowls made by the Uralis are about a centimetre thick. Finished vessels are dried for about ten days before firing, which takes a few hours only. Bamboo

strips are spread on the ground and the vessels to be fired are kept on them, leaning one against the other. Some more strips of bamboo are then placed over the pots. The fire is intensely hot, but it is doubtful if, in the open, the temperature can be maintained high for any length of time. The vessels burn to a dull brown colour. I have not examined any sherds to see if the clay has been baked uniformly to this tint throughout its thickness. The loss by breakage in firing is, according to my Urali informants, always great. This obviously is due to the lack of tempering.

The largest handmade pot that I have seen in Wynad is about a foot in diameter: the Uralis themselves buy larger vessels from the potters of the plains. The people of Wynad are of opinion that things cook better in Urali pots than in the wheel-made ones of the plains potters.

Pot-making among the most primitive tribes is women's work, but it was taken over by men after the discovery of the wheel. Among the wheel-using Tamil potters the decoration and painting of the pottery are the special tasks allocated to the women, men doing the rest of the work, but among the Uralis only women work as potters in conformity with the primitive sociological norm.

Handmade pottery is fairly common among several

Indian tribes, particularly those of Assam, but there the pots are moulded from lumps of clay. The coiling method, which has been reported from the Andaman Islands, was perhaps prevalent in other parts of India, as at least one specimen of coiled ware has been found at Harappa (*Ann. Rep. ASI.*, 1927-8, Pl. 34, fig. f). Scooping out vessels from roughly moulded lumps of clay is, in my opinion, unique, and more primitive than any technique prevalent in the rest of India. Whether this scoop-out method is a survival or a degenerate and crude imitation of the plains potter's technique is a moot question. The Uralis of the present day are acquainted with the wheels of the immigrant potters, and it is also likely that their ancestors were aware of the simple disc-like tournette of the indigenous potters of Malabar. They are, moreover, intelligent craftsmen who, in case they felt the need, at any time, to imitate the superior technique of their neighbours, have the necessary mechanical and manipulative skill to copy it *in toto*, but they seem to have made no efforts at such imitation. It may be that the fact of their having an ancient traditional technique acted counter to any imitative tendency. The provisional conclusion may be drawn that the Urali method of pottery manufacture is a survival of a primitive craft, not the crude imitation of a more developed technique.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

The *Anthropos* Institute during the Years 1939-1945.

55 *Summary of a Communication by T. R. Professor Wilhelm Schmidt: 17 April, 1946*

At the end of 1938 the *Anthropos* Institute occupied its new home at Posieux-Froideville, Canton Fribourg, in Switzerland. In the course of the following year the members of the Institute came into residence there, so far as they were not prevented by duties elsewhere, and the greater part of the library was transferred.

Volume 34 of *Anthropos* (1939) was still published in Vienna, but subsequent volumes appeared in Fribourg. For 1940-1941 appeared the double volume 35-36 containing 1,128 pages, while of Volume 37-38, for 1942-1944, parts 1-3, representing 1943, were to be published in May, 1946.

Apart from short intermissions, correspondence was maintained with most countries in Europe and beyond, as appears from the record of books and periodicals received (Vol. 35-36, pp. 518-557, 1101-1128; and Vol. 37-38, not yet paged).

The following members have published elsewhere: Burgmann, Gusinde, Henninger, Hölzker, Koppers, Schebesta, W. Schmidt, Schulten, Vroklage. Reports from missionaries appeared in *Anthropos* in English,

Dutch, French, German, Italian, and Spanish, and others await publication; many missionaries have published elsewhere, and the record is probably not yet complete.

Anthropometric Enquiries in the Royal Air Force. A

56 *Communication by Dr. G. M. Morant: 4 June, 1946*

During the last year of the war Dr. Morant was engaged in carrying out anthropometric research in the Medical Directorate of the Air Ministry. He dealt with the problems treated then, and others investigated recently, dealing with British populations. A fuller account of the work is understood to be in preparation.

Anthropological Problems arising out of Work for the Services. A Communication by Professor Sir Cyril

57 *Burt, D.Sc.: 15 October, 1946*

The author, who is Professor of Psychology at University College, London, and has lately devoted much attention to various problems in the sphere of physical anthropology, discussed factorial analysis as applied to physical measurements and considered the distribution of deficiency in colour vision on the basis of data obtained from work for the Forces.

SHORTER NOTE

Atchana 1946. *Summary of a lecture by Lt.-Col. Sir Leonard Woolley, to the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 7 October, 1946*

58

A short season's work was done in the spring of 1946 on the site of Atchana-Alalakh; its object was to obtain further evidence for the positive chronology of the strata so admirably worked out by Sidney Smith (*Alalakh and Chronology*, Luzac & Co., 1940), to illustrate more fully Levels I, III, V, and VI, and to go down to the hitherto unknown Levels VIII and IX. The two areas selected for excavation were the temple, discovered in 1939, and the south end of the Palace of Yarim-Lim, discovered in the same year.

The temple was first built in the period of Level III (soon after 1370 B.C.) on a site previously occupied by private houses; it was probably a new east wing added to an older and more important temple lying in the unexcavated area immediately to the west. The new building consisted of a courtyard and two sanctuaries of more or less similar design, their main feature being that they were two storeys high and that the principal chambers were on the upper floor; the better preserved of the two was itself built on a raised *podium* two metres high reached by a flight of steps in a portico formed of two square pillars between *ante*. These structures are definitely Hittite in character (*hittite* type) and with them must be associated a tablet with a divination text of the Boghazkeu type, the first of its kind to be found outside the Hittite capital; probably there is also to be associated with it an orthostat found re-used in the upper level carved in relief and showing two figures, of which the leader is identified by a hieroglyphic inscription as a Dulkhalia, probably the second of the Boghazkeu kings of that name.

The establishment of this Hittite shrine, obviously considered of great importance, must be connected with Suppiluliuma's conquests in North Syria, and the fact confirms Sidney Smith's dating of our Level III.

The temple was destroyed by fire and rebuilt in Level II, but though the old foundations were re-used, the new building differed in having only one storey; the portico was included in the shrine proper, and the sanctuary was at the back, on the ground floor; the level of the courtyard was raised, and a short central flight of steps led up from it to a columned entrance of which the threshold was found *in situ*. Radical though the change was, it did not involve any departure from Hittite tradition; the new building was definitely Hittite, though not of the *hittite* type. The lion sculptures found in Level I, where they were re-used, belong to Level II; they may not have been original there but were certainly used for the decoration of the building. Objects which were original to the period were found in an annex to the sanctuary; here there were fragments of vessels of variegated glass of quite exceptional quality, a bottle of blue glass paste with a handle in the form of a couchant lion moulded in the round, a lapis-lazuli figurine of the 'unveiled Goddess,' once enriched with gold of Mesopotamian type, an admirable bone figurine in Egyptian style, bone inlay (the head, wings, and tail of a bird from a wooden (?) toilet-box in the form of a duck), and fragments of glass vessels with designs moulded in relief; these witnessed at once to the wealth and to the cosmopolitan character of the culture of the period.

The temple of Level I, Phase A, was built on the stumps of the older temple but was altogether a new

building, fresh stone rubble foundations being laid along the top of the levelled mud-brick walls. The ground-plan was simple. The front courtyard remained, but a well was dug in its north-east corner; the sanctuary consisted of a wide and shallow entrance-chamber leading, by a doorway flanked by two wooden columns, into a large room in the back wall of which there were three niches, the central one open and wood-panelled, the two side ones masked by basalt orthostats set slightly back from the line of the intervening buttresses above which there was presumably a wooden screen. These closed niches seem to have been repositories for foundation-deposits, for embedded between the courses of mud brick in the back of the northern recess there were found a bronze dagger, a vessel of variegated glass, an alabaster vase, and some pottery.

The shrine was destroyed by fire and rebuilt, in the same period, but once more with a radical change of character; the floor-level was raised by 0.75 m., i.e. to the top of the old orthostats; the niches in the back wall were filled in, so that the wall itself became disproportionately heavy; the entrance-chamber was divided by cross-walls into three, a small ante-room and two side closets; and to provide access from the courtyard (which remained at the same level) there was built in front of the entrance a massive flight of stone steps flanked by basalt statues of lions. It was an entrance in the true Hittite tradition, and certainly imposing; but it was all of second-hand material, the steps being old orthostats or foundation-blocks, the statues broken pieces taken from the ruins of the older temple and re-used here with no regard to their original purpose; the Dulkhalia relief was employed, face downwards, as a step, and the carved bodies of the lions were hidden by the masonry of the baluster wall. It might seem that such misuse of the old monuments implied not so much piety as a desire to achieve the maximum effect at a minimum cost; but the other objects found at the same level, in the courtyard and in the eastern annexe of it, were also old and must have been kept for tradition's sake. These were a basalt altar adorned with swans' heads, a bronze ritual dagger whose blade is grasped by figures of lions moulded in the round, an object closely resembling the relief of the 'Dagger God' at Yasilkaya, an inscribed Hittite *bullu*-seal, a basalt throne for a statue in the form of a seat whose arms were supported by lions, and—not on the surface but in a hole specially dug as if for concealment—the inscribed limestone statue of a king, its head broken off but laid carefully by the side of the body.

This temple was in use for some time, long enough for the floor of the courtyard to be raised several times, so much so that at the last only the heads of the lions flanking the steps showed, their clms touching the pavement. Then it was destroyed and once more rebuilt, or replaced by a structure belonging to our Level O. Of this, the last building to occupy the site, little more than the outer east wall remained; but that little was remarkable in that its stone foundations were the most massive that we have yet encountered at Atchana.

Sidney Smith's chronology allows for Level I a period lasting from about 1220 to 1190 B.C. Granted that the *terminus ante quem* is fixed by the date of the Invasion of the Peoples of the Sea, it would seem that some modification of the *terminus post quem* is necessary in view of the new information gained this season. We have no right in the case of Level O to argue from

solidity to longevity—the building may have been destroyed by the Peoples of the Sea before it was even finished; but some time must be allowed for its planning and inception. The temple of Level I, Phase A, need not have stood very long, but that of Phase B was in existence for many years and its decay was gradual. A space of thirty years is surely insufficient for all these changes of fortune that mark Levels I and O.

In 1939 the houses of Levels V and VI formed fairly distinct strata but their contents were homogeneous. This season the evidence was again decisive in distinguishing those two levels from Level IV above and from Level VI below, but gave no criterion for differentiating between V and VI. All our information was obtained from rubbish pits and graves, and in the few cases in which it was possible to assign one of these with certainty to the one level or the other, the contents did not help us. It seems safest to consider the two levels as successive phases of a period throughout which culture was practically uniform. The period is characterized by two types of pottery peculiar to it. One is a finely burnished black or grey ware found in a very limited range of shapes showing derivation from metal prototypes and decorated with white-filled impressed patterns, the designs being combinations of concentric circles, running circles, hatched or dot-filled lozenges and triangles, herring-bone, hatching, rosettes and stars. It must be remarked that the ornament is never incised but always impressed, the tools being tubular punches and chisels of varying width; *i.e.* the technique is strictly that of the metal-worker. In this respect the ware differs from the Tel-el-Yahudiya ware with which it is natural to compare it, just as it differs from that ware in the forms of its vessels: the Tel-el-Yahudiya juglet is never found at Atchana, and the Atchana forms of beaker and krater do not occur in Tel-el-Yahudiya ware.

The second type of pottery peculiar to Levels V and VI is a painted ware which resembles, though it is not identical with, the painted ware of the Khabur valley. The painted ornament consists of horizontal bands, between which may be vertical or oblique or waved tie-bands, diversified in some cases by geometrical motives such as hatched triangles or lozenges, or by bird and animal figures. The curious thing is that, whereas this ware is absent from Level VII, it is found again in Level

VIII—indeed, where the evidence of stratification is lacking it is difficult to assign such pottery on internal evidence to one level rather than the other. We have therefore a traditional continuity interrupted by Level VII.

One of the rubbish pits of Level V produced the lower part of a faience vessel of Egyptian fabric decorated with lotus and rosette motives in brown on a white (?) ground and with a scene of a man seated on a throne, with a table full of offerings in front of him and a hieroglyphic inscription giving the normal offering-text; the names are missing, but the donor calls himself 'the Scribe,' which must mean that he was an Egyptian official in the local government, *i.e.* the government of Alalakh was under Egyptian control. The vase is certainly of XVIIIth-Dynasty date. Since Level IV begins with the conquest of North Syria by Thutmose III in his 38th year (1483 B.C.) and Level V antedates that conquest, we have to look for an earlier period in which Egyptian domination was possible: I would suggest that this vase is evidence that Alalakh acknowledged the suzerainty of Egypt as a result of Thutmose I's raid to the Euphrates in 1527 B.C.; it is true that no capture of towns is reported in the purely military accounts of the campaign which have come down to us, but the invader marched up the Orontes valley, and that Alalakh should have surrendered to him is highly probable.

In the domestic quarters of Yarim-Lim's palace (Level VII) one room served apparently as a stone-mason's workshop; in it were found two small fragments of a diorite statue which, on grounds of style, was almost certainly a Sumerian royal statue of the Lagash-Third Dynasty-of-Ur period. It is inconceivable that any royal statue should have been deliberately broken and turned to base uses in the time of the dynasty responsible for setting it up; therefore this statue must have been older than the VIIIth-Level palace in which it was found and should be attributed to Level VIII or earlier—it might well have belonged to Level X. A Sumerian royal statue would of course imply Sumerian domination of Alalakh at the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur—one of the historical points on which definite evidence is most to be desired. Its destruction in Level VII would be natural, for Yarim-Lim, as an ally of Khannumrabi of Babylon, would be at pains to eliminate all symbols of former subjection to the Sumerian enemy.

REVIEWS

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Essays on Human Evolution. By Sir Arthur Keith. London: Watts & Co. 1946. Pp. x, 224. Price 15s.

59

These essays are the outcome of a long career of evolutionary thinking, and of the attempt, during the war years, to reduce to general conclusions the gatherings of those many years. On 'three main themes' Sir Arthur Keith thinks he can throw some light: on the later stages of man's evolution into a social animal; on the nation not as a 'political unit, with which anthropologists have no concern,' but as an 'evolutionary unit' and therefore the proper study for anthropology; and on war as 'part of the machinery of human evolution.' What he means by 'evolution,' he explains in Essay XXIII, written in August, 1943, at the turning point of the War: it is distinguished from individual 'development' in that it is effected in a species or a people in the passage of generations, that it is conditional on tribal or national continuity, and that it is man's nature, therefore,

'to maintain and to defend the life and the integrity of the tribe or nation to which he belongs' (p. 85). The 'struggle for survival' would be better termed the 'struggle for integrity'; and national or tribal integrity can only be maintained by resistance to aggression from outside. War cannot therefore be ended except by 'rid[ing] human nature of the sanctions imposed on it by the law of evolution.' But 'there is no escape from human nature.' Any new Law of Nations must be in harmony with human nature—that is, in harmony with evolution.

The codes of conduct, then, which are observed (p. 96) within evolutionary groups—tribes or nations—and are the means whereby they are severally perpetuated and further 'evolved' as such, are at the same time distinct from, and compatible with, quite different modes of behaviour in defence of the group. These latter Sir Arthur characterizes as the 'cosmical code,' like the behaviour of wild animals in

similar predicaments. It may be noticed that the circumstance that the aggressor is another human group is immaterial; attack by lions or by conflagration elicits precisely the same tribal response. What is essential is that the behaviour of lions or fire is *hostile*, in the old Roman sense of 'not of our sort.' And the same formula covers the tribal response to anti-tribal acts, such as murder, or conspiracy, among its own members. On all such occasions the tribal rule 'Thou shalt not kill' is suspended, because the evolutionary continuity of the group is imperilled: just as the rights of property are suspended if you have to take your neighbour's water-bucket, or pull down his house, to stop a conflagration.

This presentation of the social group as evolutionary unit, within a world of such units, is a valuable contribution to political as well as to anthropological thinking. It helps to explain the comparative stability, and consequent political *value*, of the smaller national groups, by reason of their closer coherence in defence of their characteristic 'evolutionary' mode of life, and on condition of such defence. It points towards the establishment of such inner coherence, as the condition of stability in the larger groups, and to the principal dangers which they incur from their size and internal diversities. But it does not seem to justify Sir Arthur's pessimism as to the possibility of an all-inclusive Union of Nations. Indeed, his own commendation of federal states on a smaller scale surrenders his contention in advance.

After all this it is disappointing to find that it would be 'more honest to recognize that both codes—ethical and cosmical—are constituent parts of human nature,' and we look forward to the further essays, promised on p. 214, on the 'evolution of nationality.'

Though in general the historical outlook of these essays is well informed, it may be doubted whether the estimate of the Christian view of war takes full account of the evidence. It is not only that the pacifist injunctions to refrain from reprisal, or even resistance to aggression, have to be considered in their context—a *par Romana* of very wide extent, within which the 'ethical' code had invariably free play, and of which the political sanction under Roman rule was endorsed by Christ in the matter of the 'tribute-money.' The soldier's profession was accepted as normal, subject to obvious self-restraints; and the injunction to treat a recalcitrant aggressor as 'a heathen man and a publican' contemplates the application of the 'cosmical' code even within the Roman *orbis terrarum*. For in the plain usage of the words, the 'heathen' was outside the law which he did not understand; the 'publican' or tax-farmer, the flagrant example of the man within the law but a transgressor of the code that he knew.

From the first days of Christianity, moreover, there were Christian centurions and other soldiers. It was only when the *par Romana* was being violated by 'heathen men' out of Germany and Persia that the choice became urgent for Christians between the pacifism of Origen and the militancy of Augustine, the exponent of a 'City of God' for all mankind.

JOHN L. MYRES

Milieu et Techniques. By André Leroi-Gourhan. Paris: Albin Michel, 1945. Pp. 512. Illustrated. Fr. 265

60 In this volume, which is a sequel to *L'Homme et la Matière*, the author surveys a vast array of artefacts, and crafts other than those of western civilization, under the headings of war, hunting, domestication of animals, agriculture, preparation and consumption of food, clothing, habitation. Within the limits permitted by this scheme he has made an admirable selection and classification of his material, but the disadvantage of the scheme is that it concentrates on the purpose of an artefact to the exclusion of the technical principles involved in making it. The shooting bow must be discussed without reference to the bow-drill or musical bow; the net cannot be related to clothing techniques; the basket-work container, trap, and sieve must be in different chapters, and so on.

He goes on to discuss the problems of origin, diffusion, and evolution. His arguments are reasoned and undogmatic, but he tends to exaggerate the influence of environment on

technical advance. He discusses interestingly and at some length various aspects of Eskimo culture, but seems not to realize that it could not have originated under arctic conditions. One arctic winter must have exterminated the Eskimo unless they had been already provided with techniques developed in a less rigorous climate.

The few authorities whom he cites are almost exclusively French.

The book is illustrated with 622 drawings by the author. These are admirably clear and well selected, and form a most interesting series.

RAGLAN

Le Village et le Paysan de France. By Albert Dauzat. Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1941. Pp. 219. Price, Fr. 55

61 Professor Dauzat here essays a general survey of the culture of the French countryside. He begins with an historical and geographical sketch of the development of the French village, with a section on the meaning of village names. He next deals with rural house-types. There are two main types, the 'Gallic,' which covers about half the country, mostly in the north, and the 'Latin,' covering about a third, mostly in the south. The former has one story with attics, and a cowhouse in prolongation. The latter has two stories, with the living-rooms on the first floor, reached by an outside staircase; stores, fowls, etc., are kept on the ground floor. Other types are the 'Germanic,' the 'Norman,' and the 'Basque.' There are a few good photographs, but no plans, and the map is on too small a scale.

He next discusses the origin and distribution of the various types of ploughs and other implements, and of the chief crops. Next, there is a description of the various peasant costumes, and a survey of customs and traditions, including folk-tales, songs, and dances. There is a chapter on dialects, and the author concludes with a discussion of peasant mentality and of the causes of rural depopulation, suggesting remedies for the latter.

Professor Dauzat is under no illusions about the origin of French peasant culture. He shows that the costumes are all more or less modified versions of the fashionable costumes of former days; many, if not all, of the tales are of literary origin; the songs and proverbial sayings, none of them very ancient, came mostly from Paris, and some at least of the folk-dances came from the court.

The inadequacy of the illustrations and maps may have been unavoidable; otherwise the book deserves the highest praise, both for matter and style, and leaves one with the impression that in the study of folk-culture the French are far ahead of ourselves.

RAGLAN

Death and Rebirth: A Study in Comparative Religion.

62 By Lord Raglan. London: Watts & Co. 1945. Pp. 106. Price 5s.

Our knight errant of anthropology challenges the Tylor-Frazer view that dreams gave men notions of the soul as an ethereal image of the body. He contends that primarily man is not a thinker, but a doer. His customs and ritual may receive changing interpretations at different periods and in different places. Ceremonial endures, explanatory beliefs change. And ceremonial, institutions, and belief rarely have multiple origins; they diffuse from some original centre. Here one may interpose that much depends on how broadly the institution is conceived; slavery, social property in land, and some other features of society, conceived broadly, may have multiple origins, but details will be diverse in most cases. The commonest belief concerning a survival of death is the idea of reincarnation, an idea helped by, rather than due to, the notion that pregnancy involves, along with mating, the entry of a 'spirit' into the prospective mother, and perhaps by observation of hereditary likenesses. These few thoughts added to Lord Raglan's and perhaps modifying them are in no way intended to detract from appreciation of a characteristically bright and suggestive essay.

H. J. FLEURE

A Contribution to the Problem of the Minoan Script.**63** *By Const. D. Ktistopoulos. Athens. 1945. Pp. 20 and table of signs. Price not stated*

Unfortunately the author has not revealed how he obtained the phonetic values of the 64 signs from the Minoan 'Script B' with which he operates. But like all such attempts hitherto published, he deals only with the specimens of Minoan writing published by Evans and Sundwall; and has clearly not examined the very large series of tablets (about 1700) in the Candia Museum. For lack of such closer acquaintance with the signs themselves, he not only ignores about 40 signs in common use, but fails to recognize variants of the same sign: e.g. his sign 9 (*pe*)=43 (*se*): his 25 (*mo* or *do*)=37 (*pu*): his 27 (*na*)=42 (*sa*): his 28 (*na*) probably =51 (*te*): his 19 (*li*)=38 (*re*): his 60 (*va*)=64 (*hu*). On the other hand, his two forms of 40 (*ri*) are different signs, though I cannot clearly identify the second of them. A few of his phonetic values, based on comparison with the Cypriote syllabary, are quite probable, but already admitted. To say (p. 8) that a word *ma-ri* would 'probably' be related either to Latin *mas* 'male' or to the old Cretan word *martis* 'virgin' does not really help much. In its context, *ma-ri* must mean either 'boys' or 'girls.'

Even supposing the phonetic values of the signs to be known, it is a further assumption that the inscriptions are in any sort of Greek. Even the few tablets already published show clearly that there is no such system of grammatical suffixes as in Greek: at most the words represented by the sign-groups include radicles consisting of one or two syllabic signs, as in the Greek personal names *Demosthenes*, *Demokritos*, *Kritoboulos*; but this structure is familiar in Hebrew names (*Jehoiakim*, *Jehoshaphat*) and in Celtic and Teutonic names.

Frankly, it is no use guessing at the phonetic value of Minoan script till the documents are available, nor at the meaning of the sign-groups till the phonetic values are known. But there is hope that the texts may be published in facsimile before long. J. L. MYRES

The Evolution of Prehistoric Architecture. *By George Lechler: from Art Quarterly VI. 1943. Detroit Institute of Arts, U.S.A. Pp. 189-212. Illustrated*

64 This is an ingenious and compressed survey of a large field, with special emphasis on the early use of reeds and basketry, and the gradual emergence of roof-construction. But some of the views need further support—the contact between Mediterranean stone-building and European wood-work; the derivation of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns from stone, wooden, and reed-bundle prototypes, of the Corinthian neanthus-capital from reed-inflorescence, and of the 'inverted' Minoan column from a neolithic built-up pier. The triple volutes of Anatolian columns are not demonstrably ancestral to the single Ionic, though they are doubtless related. The use of wallpaper is both earlier than the eighteenth century—in England it goes back to 1550—and much later than the birch-bark veneers from which it is derived here. But the series of illustrations will be useful. J. L. MYRES

Patrick Geddes, Maker of the Future. *By Philip Boardman. With Introduction by Lewis Mumford. Chapel Hill, U.S.A. 1944. (O.U.P.) Pp. 504. Price 30s.*

65 Dr. Philip Boardman has written with zest, humour, and considerable judgment, awakened by personal knowledge of Patrick Geddes—gained in Montpellier, 1929-31—and backed by prolonged study of his writings and his many lines of work. Dr. Boardman had the assistance of the late Mr. Edward McGegan, at the Outlook Tower, Edinburgh, and of Lewis Mumford. Dr. Boardman also wrote as a thesis *L'œuvre éducative de Patrick Geddes*, Paris, 1936. He has thus brought many years of work, and maturity in criticism and assessment, to his task. The book has grave, though not irremediable, faults—lapses of taste and misplaced flights of fancy. Yet it is written with knowledge and infectious enthusiasm, and with glimpses of poetic insight without

which a study of Patrick Geddes's many-sided personality would have been incomplete.

Born in the Highlands in 1854, Patrick Geddes did brilliantly at school in Perth, and having faithfully served a year in a bank and also laid aside thoughts of a career as an artist, he freed himself for his chief aim, the study of life. Early in the '70's he undertook a hard apprenticeship with Huxley. His father's Presbyterian faith was shocked at Patrick's departure to this outstanding atheist: yet the two understood one another, and the son never lost the Scots traditions of 'family worship' and of faith as a life-long quest. From Huxley, Geddes went to Lacaze-Duthiers, with whom he saw not only French biology, but something of social science, and the vitality of France, which quickened his mind and spirit. There, too, he saw for the first time the aftermath of war, international and civil, and the meaning of reconstruction. In Britain again, he came to know Darwin.

It was in Mexico, when Geddes was 25, that there occurred what he knew to have been the supreme crisis of his intellectual life. This was an attack of blindness which, though it slowly passed after a few weeks, remained a threat which seriously limited his indoor working powers for a time, and broke the promise of a career in biology by making it impossible to continue microscopy. One great compensating experience emerged from this deep trial: a power of abstract thinking and the beginning of methods of diagrammatic thought, without which this intensely concrete observer might never have reached philo-osophic achievement.

Boardman has seen the dramatic nature of the crisis, and appreciated its intellectual stimulus to abstract thinking: Geddes's diagrammatic method, too—which has still to be adequately published—is simply and clearly sketched. But the full consequences are not brought out: in fact, they are unintentionally concealed under a mass of amusing anecdotes of intellectual escapades. It remains vital to tell that the variety of activities 'P.G.' pursued in Edinburgh (during his employment as university assistant in botany) were first undertaken when oculist's orders limited his indoor biological work to two hours a day. The career of a talented, but orthodox, biologist might have survived such restrictions: not that of a thinker whose very unorthodoxy required a mass of concrete, published researches as evidence, and concentrated induction in support. Few men, so shipwrecked, would have launched out as he did, in fresh craft, often upon uncharted seas of sociological thought, social inquiry, and social adventure.

What was to be the supreme spiritual adventure of his life came with his marriage to Anna Morton, when he was 29. The daughter of an Ulster Scot, Anna Geddes maintained the intellectual challenge of her forebears' faith, and grafted upon it her musicianship, born of rare talent and cultivated abroad. Only three months after their marriage, the couple went to live in the very heart of Old Edinburgh. There they made their home, and maintained it for more than ten years, until they moved to Ramsay Garden, built co-operatively under P.G.'s leadership, on the Castlehill close-by. In the Old Town they made friends with all classes, in friendships still remembered. Yet when as a schoolboy the reviewer once exclaimed in horror at its dreadfulness, Anna Geddes replied, 'It is nothing to what it was.' And indeed the pair had themselves done much to lighten the burden upon the decency, courage, and good faith of their working-class fellow-citizens, and had made the Old Town worthier of its site and heritage. The biographer, who quotes some charming sayings upon Anna Geddes, does give some impression of the marriage, but it is hardly adequate. At her death in 1917—only three months after the death at the Front of their splendid elder son—a wise friend wrote that the disaster was irreparable: 'It was she who steered the ship.' The pilot was still at the bow, but without her hand upon the helm, the ship was henceforth a danger not only to itself, but to other craft. Overstrain brought an illness from which P.G. nearly died and from which, though he fought on, he never really recovered. What might otherwise have been fairly described as his premature death at the age of 77 took place at Montpellier in 1932.

Seven years hence, in 1954, Patrick Geddes's centenary will

be due. What will it show? Merely a circle of influence spreading in ever-diminishing waves, or a fresh concentration? The ages of most of those now interested in his vision, thought, and purpose must be either over 70 or under 30—or not far from either figure! There is, in fact, fresh concentration. Hardly one of P.G.'s books is still in print, it is true. One of the few direct uses of his anthropological thought indexed in the files of the Institute (if there) must be the diagram of systematic anthropology used and acknowledged by Haddon in his *Presidential Address* (1902): but the exposition is lacking. Moreover, the strength of a diagram, chart, or picture lies in simultaneity of expression, but the strength of writing lies in sequence: P.G. having failed to grasp this and reconcile the two methods, his early mastery of English became lost in turgidity. As a result, he became a discouraged writer. For example, a readable book on European societies, written for him (by the reviewer) in 1924, he withheld; it was accepted for publication in 1939, but has now had to be withdrawn as out of date. P.G. was but little in Britain since 1914, though even so, his collaboration with Thomson, and with Branford, Slater, and others, left some impression upon the literature of biology and sociology. But this biography, and the systematic appreciations and development by Mumford, are notable contributions to P.G.'s

influence: nor do they stand alone, either in the English or French-speaking world.

As to the future, much will depend upon what can be brought out from the Outlook Tower—the world's first sociological laboratory, founded by P.G., and of which the renewal is now well advanced. Half a dozen books are in the course of compilation, editing, or publication. Among these should be mentioned: (1) *Patrick Geddes in India* (selected by Lanchester, Geddes, and Tyrwhitt from P.G.'s Planning Reports); (2) a work to replace *Cities in Evolution* (1915); (3) *Phase, Work, and Folk: The Charting of Life*—undoubtedly Geddes's major synthesis; (4) *Olympus*, an interpretation of phase and sex in human life; (5) a possible revision of biological theses. To these it may prove worth adding a complement to Dr. Boardman's book, by (6) a critique, based on Edward McElegan's MS. *Patrick Geddes as Thinker and Man of Action*. Meantime, Dr. Boardman's vivid 'introductory story,' or stories, will be welcomed. If shorn of some excrescences and welded together to bring out the essential unity of Geddes's quest and purpose, which underlay his changes of course, his tacking against wind and tide, this book would truly fulfil its gallantly undertaken purpose.

ARTHUR GEDDES

AFRICA

The Dynamics of Culture Change: An Enquiry into Race Relations in Africa. By Bronislaw Malinowski.

66 Yale University Press, 1945. Pp. xiv, 171. Price 82.50

This book, which is admirably edited by Dr. Phyllis Kaberry, is a collation of some of the late Professor Malinowski's published and unpublished papers on a subject of research which he himself did so much to stimulate. The 'older' material includes Malinowski's 'functional' theory of culture, and his views on the practical and political implications of studies of cultural change, cultural 'adaptability,' and the value and limitations of historical reconstructions.

The greater part of the book, however, is taken up with an exposition of Malinowski's ideas and suggestions on the study and production of the 'third cultural "reality,"' which, he claims, in a rather simplified formulation, is the result of the meeting of the European and African cultural 'orders.' Typical facts of change, such as plantation and mining enterprise and so on, obey rules which cannot be deduced from either culture or from both. Their working has to be studied in its own right, but with regard to the 'autonomous' or 'cultural determinism' of each of the three phases. His proposed method of study is schematic and consists of an elaborate analysis and correlation—in line with his three-fold or three-column approach—of European intentions, the phenomena of change, and the facts of African tribalism.

This method is exemplified by applying it to work done in the field and published by a number of Malinowski's own students in connexion with such problems as diet, 'Indirect Rule,' and land tenure, and it has the considerable merit of arranging hypotheses and formulations in a synoptic, ordered and systematic way. From the point of view of the 'applied' side, it may be helpful, also, in underlining and distinguishing sociological considerations and in bringing others to light. On the other hand, some of the author's conclusions, for example, that the colonies should not be drawn as actual fighting units into European wars, or that inter-racial friction might be avoided if it were made clear to Africans at the outset that they are being given new conditions 'better adapted to their needs,' rather than social equality with the white man, risk the charge of unreality.

Most of Malinowski's evidence is taken from East and South Africa, and one feels the need in a book with this title for more attention to and discussion of methodological issues in the West African field, particularly so far as 'dynamics' themselves are concerned. To what extent is it still legitimate to look for them in any sense within the tribal boundary? Since these papers were written, the recent war has speeded up certain processes very considerably. Returning soldiers, more schools, increased intercourse with Europe

and America, development schemes in themselves, and above all the African nationalist are all agents in bringing about a situation which it is increasingly appropriate to conceive of and to study in terms of the wider European economic system embracing it.

What the student of race relations in Africa needs today is a method of study which will enable him to appreciate the contemporary process of cultural change as a whole, with regard to its peculiar local and regional phases. From the point of view of wider and more theoretical issues he needs, also, some terms of reference by which he can relate his findings to the historical and comparative perspective of writers, such as MacCrone and Leyburn, interested in the same general field from the angle of other disciplines. K. L. LITTLE

Customary Law of the Haya Tribe, Tanganyika Territory.

67 By Hans Cory and M. M. Hartnoll. London, 1945. International African Institute: Percy Lund, Humphries. Pp. xii, 299, tables

The Government of Tanganyika made a grant towards the cost of publication of this volume, and though its authors do not explicitly state its purpose, it is evidently intended as a guide for the use of officials who have to review the decisions of native courts, and perhaps also for the judges themselves. A first draft was made in consultation with native court assessors. This was translated into Swahili and circulated to all native authorities concerned for their comments, and the final draft took these into account. Some hundreds of appeal cases were also studied. The whole work took two years.

The principal subjects dealt with are inheritance, bride-price, marriage and divorce, and law of property, which includes land tenure, rights in cattle, the rights of the co-operative groups who fish in Lake Victoria, sales, contracts, loans and pledges. The constitution and authority of a series of informal courts which exist alongside the officially recognized native courts are also described.

There is a wealth of detail under all these heads. The sections dealing with rights in land and with contracts of sale are particularly interesting. For a reader with no background of local knowledge, however, the book is not easy. The new A.D.O. on his first tour in Haya country will certainly not be able to turn it up like a ready reckoner: he may have to read the relevant paragraph several times before he is quite clear as to its meaning.

The authors themselves evidently have the background, and one may hope that they will some day give us, in a companion volume, a description of Haya life and institutions.

L. P. MAIR

The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat, 1829-1860.

68 Edited by J. P. R. Wallis. *Government Archives of Southern Rhodesia. Oppenheimer Series No. I.* London: Chatto and Windus, 1945. Two vols., 30s. each. Pp. xv, 382, vii, 295.

After Robert Moffat's papers had been used by his son John Smith Moffat in writing his life in 1884, they were not seen again until they were re-discovered by chance in 1941 as his son had left them, stored in the chest which Moffat took with him when he first left Scotland for South Africa. Chest and contents are now preserved in the archives of Southern Rhodesia, and the papers covering Moffat's five visits to the

Matabele chief Moselekatse have been published in full for the first time. They will interest the historian rather than the anthropologist, for Moffat's attitude towards native custom was the uncomprehending intolerance which anthropologists once had to combat. On one occasion only it seems that he gave four foolscap pages to a description of some native custom; and those pages are lost. The student of culture-contact will see in the exaggerated affection of Moselekatse for a man who regarded him with the stern disapproval of an Old Testament prophet a remarkable phenomenon. The editor misspells Professor Schapera's name in a number of different ways.

L. P. MARR

AMERICA**Tiahuanacu: The Cradle of American Man.** By Professor

69 Ing. A. Posnansky. Vols. I and II, bound together. Vol. I. Pp. viii, 158. LXIV pls., 21 figs. (not all numbered). Vol. II. Pp. cvi+246. 180 figs. J. J. Augustin, New York, 1945. \$25.00.

Attracted by the imposing ruins of Tiahuanaco, Professor Posnansky settled in Bolivia nearly half a century ago in order to study them. He has pursued this task with an almost religious devotion ever since, and his meditations have led him to conclusions which differ from those reached by most students of American archaeology. He even has his own way of spelling the name, which, he says, is based on the pronunciation of the local Indians. We owe him a great debt for his unending fight to preserve the ruins from weather and wilful destruction in the face of the apathy of the Government. Our gratitude is also due to him for the useful plans, and above all for the magnificent photographs in this book, which record many features which are now lost, besides some which did not appear in Stubel and Uhle's great book on the ruins.

His description of the ruins cannot fail to give the reader a good idea of their appearance and condition, but it must be said at once that this information is buried in a mass of wild speculation, which is set down as if it were proven fact. Pages are filled with a wearisome dissection of the sculptures on the famous monolithic doorway in the belief that they are ideograms, but when all has been said they do not seem to mean very much, even in the eyes of the author. Similarly, the interpretation of the whole of these sculptures as a calendar is pure speculation and quite unsupported by evidence. In the same category is the oft-repeated statement that the place was built under the direction of a small caste of priest-astronomers by a numerous and sometimes rebellious population of inferior race.

Posnansky postulates an extreme antiquity for Tiahuanaco, and asserts that there are three periods, separated by glaciations, and ended by a flood and a volcanic eruption. He does not venture a date for the first period, but the age of the second, which he believes to be much younger, is given as 15,000 B.C. This is based on astronomical calculations, which in their turn depend upon the assumptions that the ruin called Kalasasaya was a sort of observatory and calendar combined, that the orientation of the highly irregular remains of its walls can be measured to the nearest half-minute of arc, and that there have been extensive changes in topography since it was built! Dating in South America is notoriously difficult, but it is a far cry from figures of this kind to the moderate and reasonable estimates in the first millennium of the Christian era, which are generally accepted by scholars who have regard to the whole of American archaeology and not only to a single site. As regards topographical change, it is true that the west coast of South America between Chile and southern Ecuador is rising, but Bird shows ('Excavations in Northern Chile,' *Anth. Pap. Am. Mus.*, 38, IV, 1943) that the maximum possible rise on the north Chilean coast since the beginning of human occupation is about ten metres, and there is no sign of Tiahuanaco influence there until much later than that. Having persuaded himself that Tiahuanaco is extremely old, Posnansky states more than once that its culture spread from one end of the American continent to the other (see especially Vol. II, p. 104) upon no better evidence

than the wide-spread occurrence of the *signo escalonado* or step-sign.

Apart from the purely descriptive passages, the book is unscientific in outlook. The preliminary chapters contain confused statements about a lost land-mass in the Pacific, changes in the height and climate of the American continent, and the antiquity of man, which show that the author has no idea of the geological time-scale. A few examples are sufficient. In Vol. I, pp. 42, 43, considerable emphasis is laid on a statement that the clamps used in the buildings at Tiahuanaco are of bronze, and this is repeated in various places. It was proved up to the hilt over twenty years ago that these clamps are of copper (see Nordenskiöld, *Comparative Ethnographical Studies*, No. 4, 1921). On p. 125, Vol. I, it is suggested that 'nasal indices for anthropological comparisons' can be measured from some of the Tiahuanaco carvings, which are nothing if not conventional. In Vol. II, p. 160, to account for the fact that a monolithic doorway is three centimetres wider at the top than at the bottom, it is stated that the block of andesite must have contracted after being carved: simply because the author cannot imagine that such careful workmen could have made such a mistake.

Bennett's careful excavations at Tiahuanaco are dismissed with a remark about 'superficial excavation.' Possibly this is because Bennett found clear indications of a period of decadence in the pottery, after the classical period, which does not tally with Posnansky's notion that Tiahuanaco was cut off in its prime by a catastrophe. It may be that fuller treatment of Bennett's work will appear in the third volume, which is to deal principally with the pottery: but since it is the only real stratigraphical excavation which has been done there, full account should have been taken of it in Vols. I and II.

The original Spanish text is given in parallel columns with the English. It is fortunate that it is so, since the English translation is of very uneven value, and has to be read with an eye on the Spanish all the time. In parts it is competent enough, though rather literal, but it contains some almost incredible errors. In Vol. I, p. 68, 'alguna,' which in the context means 'a,' is translated 'another.' On p. 82, 'lugares mas templados de menor nivel sobre el mar' is translated 'more temperature locations and at lower sea-level' when it means simply 'more temperate places at lower altitudes.' In Vol. II, p. 52, 'Si bien hay bastante que descubrir . . .' is given as 'If indeed there is still considerable to be described' instead of 'If indeed there is still much to be discovered.' On p. 76 'taladrados por el centro,' which means 'drilled through the centre,' is translated 'carved in the centre.' Other mistakes seem to be due to uncritical use of a dictionary, for instance in Vol. I, p. 55, 'losas' are stone slabs, not tiles: p. 59, 'templo' is current usage for a church, and it is misleading to translate it 'temple': p. 157, 'El conjunto' is 'the whole,' not 'the contiguous,' which is nonsense. In Vol. II, p. 236, 'granitos' are little grains, the alternative meaning 'granite,' which is given, making nonsense in the context, throughout Chapter XV, 'toba' is translated 'calcareous tufa' or simply 'tufa' throughout, whereas any geologist would have told the translator that it means volcanic tuff.

A certain amount of inconvenience is caused by the fact that the illustrations are not all in numerical order, which is

due partly to the fact that both text figures and plates in Vol. II are labelled as figures. The maps are in the pocket at the end, and some confusion is caused by two different ones being labelled Pl. III, which in one case seems to mean Plate III and in the other Plan III. In most cases the plans have been reduced without correcting the representative fraction. The final chapter, on the composition of the stones, is illustrated by some highly coloured photographs of rock slices of a much greater thickness than those normally used by petrologists. G. H. S. BUSHNELL

Religion in Higher Education Among Negroes. By Richard I. McKinney. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1945. Pp. 165. Price, \$3.00

This volume, one of a series of studies in religious education, raises questions of the religious attitudes and needs of a minority group subject to economic and social disabilities, and the effect of a difficult environment on the religious faith of students whose ancestors were slaves, who found in religion an escape from servitude of spirit. It also raises issues of the effect of accepted values and emphases of American life on all students. Statistics given for the Church Private and State Colleges selected as samples for the study show that over 75 per cent. of the students have some church affiliation and when at home attend services with some regularity. Negro Colleges in their inception were missionary institutions whose foundations were rooted in the conviction that religion and education are inseparable and that the respect for human personality, central in Christianity, must be expressed in giving people of all races opportunity for education. The day has passed when these church colleges were almost alone in the field of Negro higher education. Today, great state institutions financed by state funds more lavishly than most of the church or private colleges are attracting large numbers of students, and in these colleges, though some provision is usually made for some religious observance, there is not the intimate religious life or the close connexion with a particular church which was characteristic of many of the church colleges.

The aim of the study is to discover the place taken by religion in the Negro colleges today with a view to providing data needed for the future planning of religious objectives, policies, and programs. Methods of investigation in the selected colleges included questionnaires and visitation. It was found that race relations between black and white produce distinctive . . . and spiritual adjustments which . . . by those who furnished statements but which, nevertheless, must be taken into account. Many members of the staff in all types of institutions accepted in principle that religion is 'an indispensable part of education' and some attempts were made in all to introduce religion into college life, even though in some State Colleges the teaching of religion was not permitted as part of their programme. But acceptance in principle does not necessarily mean success in practice. Difficulties regarding religious faith expressed by students were often intellectual and their thinking was more profoundly influenced by the scientific approach than by the philosophic or religious.

Conclusions based on the study include the necessity of recognizing the adjustments and difficulties negro students face in their environment and the impossibility of meeting their needs by formal programmes of worship and religious instruction apart from the quality of the whole life and teaching of a college. Many students were unconvinced of the religious sincerity of members of the faculty. The Dean of the Chapel at Howard University, speaking in 1939 on the religious situation in Negro colleges, confirmed this doubt when he stated that 'the dominant attitude of faculty people toward religion in these colleges is one of indifference due to religious illiteracy.' This he ascribed to ignorance of the Bible, 'the great gap between what the person identifies as religion and what religion really is, and the absence of primary contact with people who themselves are having vital religious experience' (footnote, p. 58). While the author considers this more pessimistic than the situation warrants, he agrees that religious leadership is inadequate to satisfy

'the latent concern for religious values on the part of students,' and urges more adequate provision of staff and resources.

M. WRONG

Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian.

71 Edited by Leo W. Simmons, Department of Sociology, Yale University. Published for the Institute of Human Relations by Yale University Press, New Haven. London, Humphrey Milford. 1942. Large 8vo. Pp. 460. Price \$4.25

Dr. Meggers, in her recent article 'Recent Trends in American Ethnology' (*Amer. Anthr.* NS 48, 1946), notes the significant development of 'autobiographies' of the uncivilized since the impact of psychology and psycho-analysis on anthropology in the twenties of this century. 'The present interest in personality in primitive society began with the collection of autobiographical material,' she writes. 'The purpose of the early anthropologists in gathering such reminiscences was not to illuminate the individual but to give a more complete and understandable record of the culture. . . . About the years 1925 to 1933 the purpose for collecting these stories changed. The interest in a way of life, and in the individual only secondarily as he illustrates it, gave way to an interest in the individual, and in the way of life secondarily as it affects him.'

Sun Chief ministers to both these interests, illuminating as it does many aspects of the modern Hopi culture and the impact of the United States culture upon it, and giving a convincing picture of a living, suffering, developing human personality, caught between the two societies.

Don C. Talayesva—note the school name and the second initial is a middle-aged Hopi Indian of Oraibi, of priestly descent, who went to two Government boarding-schools, learned English unusually well, became a nominal Christian, and returned to a whole-hearted belief in the gods and ceremonies of his people. Mr. Simmons, who had his confidence and affection, persuaded him to compose this history of his life for publication. Where Malinowski has already praised it, seems an unpertinence for the present reviewer to do so; but it must be said again that this is the best half-civilized autobiography that has yet appeared. Don was a great informant: mature, intelligent, with remarkable powers of memory, as truthful as any of us and more so than most, faithful and responsible in native religious matters though adaptable in material culture, a conservative though not a 'hostile'; and with enough self-love and self-consciousness to dispose him to self-revelation. He liked making 'his book.' And Simmons was a perfect listener.

'Edited' is, naturally, an understatement for Simmons' share in the book: rather is he a co-author. As he explains, he asked Don several thousand questions, trained him through diary-keeping to systematic arrangement (does Parsons get enough credit for the invention of this successful method?), evoked reminiscences, stimulated the tune-sense so lacking in Hopi thinking, scrutinized and abridged the results, and turned them into a less limited English which would not do injustice to Don's mental level. His work 'sticks out' in places: for instance, in the summing-up at the end of certain life-stages (pp. 69, 134, 178), which seems alien to native Hopi thinking. It is obvious, however, that Don had been modified mentally by his American schooling before the training began. Anyone who wants to know how an unschooled, unedited Indian thinks and talks can see it in J. P. Harrington's word-for-word transcript of Picuris tales.

Real autobiography of the half-civilized is perhaps unobtainable, except when, all too rarely, an informant is in the mood to pour out, unprompted by the recorder, in a language familiar to both parties, a story of personal experience already assembled in his mind, already rehearsed in native style to native hearers, and coloured with emotion—an adventure, a grief, an illness, a magical initiation and the recorder can listen without interrupting and write it as a whole from immediate memory. Malinowski himself, with his complete command of the Trobriand language and his gift of evoking sympathy, must surely have left unpublished notable material of this sort: Some of Don's work seems to come from such

spontaneous, unquestioned outpouring; and his editor might well have marked the passages for us.

Decidedly, Don owes more to his own civilization than to ours on the moral side. After an early life almost entirely self-centred and self-pleasing (in which to the precocious and unrepressed sensuality of his village childhood succeeded the furtive sensuality of the co-educational Government boarding-school, with its cynical veneer of Y.M.C.A. 'Christianity'; and afterwards the franker sensuality and intrigue of village youth) the dawning of self-control and the sense of responsibility came with initiation into the Soyal, the requirements of ceremonial fasting and continence, the duties of clanship and marriage. School and the Y.M.C.A. immunized him against the missionary. The reviewer is not unaware of the genuine merit of some Hopi Christians locally converted—their honesty, charity, and consistency, reluctantly acknowledged by the 'conservatives,' who prefer Christians as business partners—nor of the enterprise and improved reasoning powers of some 'educated' Hopi men and women; but has still to meet a Hopi in whom boarding-school Christianity has gone deep.

A last question suggests itself: Is Don Talayesva a typical Hopi? Perhaps not less typical than a literary man is of our own society. Or must we say that an Indian who seeks friendship, appreciation, and justification from a white man shows himself to be a misfit in his own community? In which case (to go back to Dr. Meggers' criterion) his biography may fail to give a complete understanding of the culture but succeed in illuminating his personality.

BARBARA AITKEN

A Selective Guide to the English Literature on the Netherlands West Indies. By Philip Hanson Hiss. New York City: Netherlands Information Bureau, No. 9, 1943. Pp. 130

This is a practical compromise between the 'Books recommended' type of hand-book, and the full-scale Bibliography, and will give to many readers all that they can conveniently use. A supplement has been included on British Guiana which in some ways runs parallel with Surinam and supplies omissions in its literature.

J. L. MYRES

CORRESPONDENCE

Mohenjodaro and Easter Island. Cf. MAN, 1946, 65

73 SIR.—With reference to Mr. Metraux's letter (MAN, 1946, 65), the choice appears to lie between accepting a link connecting the Mohenjodaro writing with the signs on Easter Island, or no link and accepting the theory of convergence and independent development. Mr. Metraux states that he has rendered doubtful the possibility of any such link or relationship, and offers the theory of convergence in its place.

Let us examine this theory, in the knowledge of the origin of other scripts.

The Egyptians from a *tabula rasa* invented their script. Let us see what an Egyptologist has to say on this subject: 'When the Egyptians, in the middle of the second millennium, sent expeditions to Sinai to mine the turquoise and malachite, the men came into contact with a less civilized mining population living there and presumably used their labour. The latter had no writing of their own, and, seeing the Egyptian hieroglyphs on monuments which the officers put up to mark their visits, invented for themselves an alphabet based on the hieroglyphic signs, but having different values.'¹

Here is a clear example of the diffusion of an idea. The idea of writing was brought to the inhabitants of Sinai, who promptly seized upon it, accepted it, and invented their own alphabet. There is a clear and definite link between them and the Egyptians, a culture-contact on a local reaction. This local reaction spread. 'They (the miners of Mount Sinai) seem to have been a Semitic-speaking people, and it is possible that they passed on this script to the other Semitic-speaking peoples in Palestine and Syria: that after undergoing certain modifications, the script came to be used by the early Hebrews and Phoenicians, from whom the Greeks got their alphabet, who in turn gave us ours. Some of these steps are purely supposition, though reasonable as such.'²

It is clear what happened. In some areas the idea of writing diffused, and new local scripts were invented, in others the scripts that brought the idea of writing were copied and modified, but it is quite clear that no theory of convergence need be invoked here—nor would it have a leg to stand on.

When these people seized on the *idea of writing* and invented their own alphabet some of these alphabets became undecipherable, because who can say what arbitrary sign is linked to any one idea. Some of these alphabets remain undecipherable to this day, e.g. those of the Cretans. Others were revealed after the discovery of the Rosetta Stone and similar aids.

The difficulties of deciphering a script, developed on the idea of writing, remain insoluble, if no key or clue is provided. Anybody can understand an Eskimo drawing. To explain

it we have no need of a native. To decipher the Maya writings the most eminent scholars have worried themselves for several decades past. For the Maya culture died out and we know very little about it.³ The Eskimo drawings can be accounted for on the theory of convergence, but the undecipherable Maya script falls into the category of the diffusion of an idea.

Are there any other instances of the diffusion of the idea of writing? Yes, there is a very modern one; the invention of a script recently at Fumban, French Cameroons, West Africa, by Njoya, Sultan of the Bamun. 'Njoya did not take over any ready-made system of writing, but merely the idea of writing: he evolved his own system of writing. We are told that an Arabic script was actually in use in his kingdom; and doubtless European books and newspapers were not entirely unknown. But these systems had little if any direct influence. He began, not with literal signs, but with ideographs, which elsewhere have been obsolete for more than three millennia except in the Far East. . . . The paramount interest of his achievement lies in the fact that it might appear as an independent invention, if we knew of it only from historical, or, even more, from archaeological evidence.'

What possible parallels could some future archaeologist adduce if he were to dig up one of Njoya's documents? At the most there might be a few resemblances that could better be accounted for by convergence; for the only parallel scripts would be impossibly remote from the Cameroons both in time and space. It would indeed be well worth examining his scripts to see whether any such convergences with other scripts do in fact exist. For here at any rate we should know for certain that they *were* convergences, not borrowings. Such an inquiry would not be of merely formal interest, for it has recently been claimed on the strength of resemblance between the signs that the script of Easter Island is derived from the Indus Script. Such a suggestion seems altogether fantastic and would hardly be seriously considered, had it not been supported by a distinguished ethnographer. Yet who, with the example of Njoya before him, would not prefer to believe that some long-forgotten Polynesian genius had seen writing, and evolved a system of his own?⁴

Some of Njoya's signs are known to have been borrowed from trade marks on goods.

How the earlier scripts of the world were invented is not known, but apparently one man, imbued with an idea, is sufficient. For the Bamun it was Njoya; for the Vai script of the Mandingo it was Momolu Doalu Bukere.⁵ In this connexion the following is worthy of notice: 'The importance

of diffusion has been so firmly established by the investigation of American material culture, ceremonies, art and mythology, as well as by the study of African cultural forms and by that of prehistory in Europe, that we cannot deny its existence in the development of any local cultural type. . . . We know of cases in which a single individual has introduced a whole set of important myths.⁶ So that one immigrant with a knowledge of writing arriving among the inhabitants of Easter Island would be sufficient, if other circumstances and conditions were propitious, to fire a local Njoya with the idea of inventing a local script.

The immediate question is that of diffusion. The dawn of the Neolithic Age is placed c. 5000 B.C.⁷ and a characteristic feature of it is polished stone artefacts. The Neolithic was mainly confined in the Old World to Eurasia; it barely reached South Africa. It extended to the New World and eventually polished tools spread all over Oceania.⁸

In 5000 B.C. the configuration of the land masses was much as it is today. How then did polished stone artefacts spread to the New World and only just manage to reach South Africa which was territorially connected with the centre of Neolithic culture? The answer is either by diffusion or by convergence.

It is now necessary to examine the possibility of a trade connexion with Easter Island.

The Indians who traded with Egypt used cowries for money: the Chinese, who also traded with Egypt at a very remote period, used tortoise [probably cowrie] shells for money.⁹

How was this trading done? . . . the sea forms the great highway of the world. But it is not so generally recognized how vast a part ancient mariners played in building up civilization itself and spreading abroad throughout the world the rich cargoes of new ideas that stimulated peoples in outlying regions to pursue the hazardous pathway of what we call progress. Such islands as Crete and Cyprus, Sicily and Sardinia, Japan, the Malay Archipelago, New Guinea, Australia, and the far-away isles of Oceania could not have received their original inhabitants until some sort of vessel had been devised to convey human beings across the water.¹⁰ Professor Daryll Forde shows the diffusion of seaworthy craft decorated with the oculus from the Erythraean sea to the coast dwellers of British Columbia.¹¹

In more modern times there was constant trading between Egypt and India. After Hippalus (A.D. 45) observed the change of the monsoon in the Indian Ocean, and made it public property, a fleet of 120 vessels sailed annually in Roman times from Myos Hormos in Egypt on the Red Sea to the Malabar coast or Ceylon at the summer solstice, and returned in December or January.¹²

However, our concern is Easter Island.

The most Easterly point to which we can trace Polynesian migration is lonely Easter Island. . . . Everywhere the Polynesians say they came from the West.¹³

There is here presumptive evidence of the diffusion of ideas. Polynesia was in contact with the West and its civilization, which included a knowledge of writing. In the early centuries after Christ, Hindus began to reach the East Indies, especially Sumatra and Java. Here they established principalities or kingdoms and their religions. Many arts were also imported by them such as iron working, batik-dyeing, sculpture, drama, and writing. . . . Greater or less portions of this culture were transported to the other East India Islands and with them went writing.¹⁴

The application of the American concept of a culture area will also reveal factors in support of the diffusion of an idea, the idea of writing. In the area extending in the Northern Tropic from North Africa eastwards one finds the oculus, a special type of boat design, drawings of composite monsters or dragons, textiles. As to form of weave, we find the same techniques in Peru as in the Old World, even to pile weaving and tie-dyeing. The aboriginal origin of the pan-pipe of Peru and Brazil has been made improbable by the discovery that it has the same arbitrary scale as the pan-pipe of

Melanesia. The most distinctive weapon of Indonesia is the blow gun, also in use in the New World. The pellet-shooting bow of Brazil has its counterpart in Asia.¹⁵

There are many other items common to this cultural area. I will quote two more. The use of inflated skin bags as rafts, and also of calabashes and clay pots. These have been shown to have diffused from the Fertile Crescent eastwards as far as South America.¹⁶

Within this area lies Easter Island, and one is asked to accept the theory of convergence as against the theory of diffusion for the signs found there. Goldenweiser says, 'When we say that a feature (object or idea) developed independently in a given tribe, this is a negative proposition scarcely amenable of proof. To furnish such we should be able to put the finger on that feature at the very time and place of its origin, in addition to being fully conversant with its cultural antecedent within the tribe—a condition too unlikely for serious consideration. On the other hand, when we say that diffusion is demonstrable, we do not mean that it can be demonstrated in each and every case. . . . In the absence of historic evidence which alone can furnish conclusive demonstration, diffusion must be balanced in the scale of probability. It is precisely in these numerous instances, where this is the only possible course, that the issue between independent development and diffusion becomes a problem.'¹⁷

The problem here is whether to attribute the signs on Easter Island to a link with Mohenjodaro's signs or to independent origin. If independent origin is called in here, then independent origin should also be invoked for other cultural features found in the cultural areas described.

The independent origin of the idea of the use of signs is accepted for Egypt: it is also demanded for Easter Island. On what grounds?

It was Rätzl who first pointed out that the idea of independent origin is the anthropological equivalent not of evolution but of the discarded biological speculation known as spontaneous generation.¹⁸

In instances where diffusion cannot be excluded it is extremely dangerous to embark on a theory of convergence as an explanation of intellectual-cultural phenomena. In the case of the script on Easter Island and a link with Mohenjodaro as an explanation, the weight of evidence is on the side of diffusion.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

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- ¹⁰ Forde, C. Daryll, *Ancient Mariners*, p. 1. London, 1927.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- ¹² Schapera, I., *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa*, p. 5. London, 1937.
- ¹³ Forde, *op. cit.*, p. 63. London, 1927.
- ¹⁴ Kroeber, A. L., *Anthropology*, p. 289. New York, 1923.
- ¹⁵ Smith, G. Elliot, *The Diffusion of Culture*, p. 184. London, 1933.
- ¹⁶ Lagercrantz, S., *Ethnos*, 1944, 2, p. 64, and 1945, 23, p. 118.
- ¹⁷ Goldenweiser, A., *Anthropology*, p. 407. New York, 1945.
- ¹⁸ Smith, G. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 60. London, 1933.



FIG. 1.—A WOMAN SLITTING, AND TWO MEN PRISING OFF THE BARK: NOTE THE CHARACTERISTIC BARK-CLOTH DRESS OF EACH



FIG. 2.—DRYING THE INNER BARK IN THE SUN

BARK-CLOTH IN TIKOPIA, SOLOMON ISLANDS

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

BARK-CLOTH IN TIKOPIA, SOLOMON ISLANDS. *By Professor Raymond Firth, London School of Economics.*
With Plate E and illustration in text

74 Many descriptions of the manufacture of bark-cloth in Polynesia have been published. These notes dealing with Tikopia, an isolated Polynesian community on the south-eastern fringe of the Solomon Islands, are presented partly for comparative record and partly because, to the best of my knowledge, the Tikopia still prepare and use this cloth for daily wear as well as for numerous ceremonial gifts and exchanges. The use of bark-cloth by the Tikopia has been mentioned by most of the early known visitors to the island; W. H. R. Rivers, drawing on the material of W. J. Durrad, has given some details of the method of manufacture; and I have myself given many instances of the use of bark-cloth in various social and ritual contexts.¹ But a fuller and more systematic account, with some illustration of the technical processes, is still desirable.

Polynesian bark-cloth, as is generally known, is made from the inner cortex or bast of a tree, usually *Broussonetia papyrifera*. Commonly called the paper-mulberry, though not a true mulberry, the tree has a tall, straight stem, a fairly smooth though somewhat granular outer bark, and dark green pointed leaves (sometimes cut into 'fingers') a few inches long, with slightly serrated edges. This species, or at least a variety of it, is the one used by the Tikopia. In the Pacific the *Broussonetia* ranks as an introduced plant, usually cultivated; in Tikopia, I believe, it is frequently self-propagating. The tree is known as *rakau fakamaru*, and the cloth prepared from it is known either as *fakamaru* or as *mami* according to dimensions. (The central Polynesian term *tapa* and western Polynesian *siapo* and their variants are unknown in Tikopia.) A piece of *fakamaru*, made from a slender sapling about 3 inches in diameter, is commonly about 15 feet long and 18 to 20

¹ E.g., 'Relation of Luis Vaez de Torres' (visit in 1606) in *Early Voyages to Terra Australis* . . . ed. with an Introduction by R. H. Major, Esq., F.S.A., Hakluyt Society, London, 1859, p. 36; Captain P. Dillon, *Narrative . . . of a Voyage in the South Seas*, Vol. II, p. 170. London, 1829; Captain John Mackay, 'Tucopia,' *Royal Geographical Society of Australia, Queensland Branch, Transactions*, Vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 81-5. Brisbane, 1886-7; W. H. R. Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, Vol. I, p. 329. Cambridge, 1914; Raymond Firth, *We, The Tikopia*, pp. 446, 449, 556-7. London, 1936; *idem*, *Primitive Polynesian Economy*, pp. 252-7, 294-304, 322-31. London, 1939.

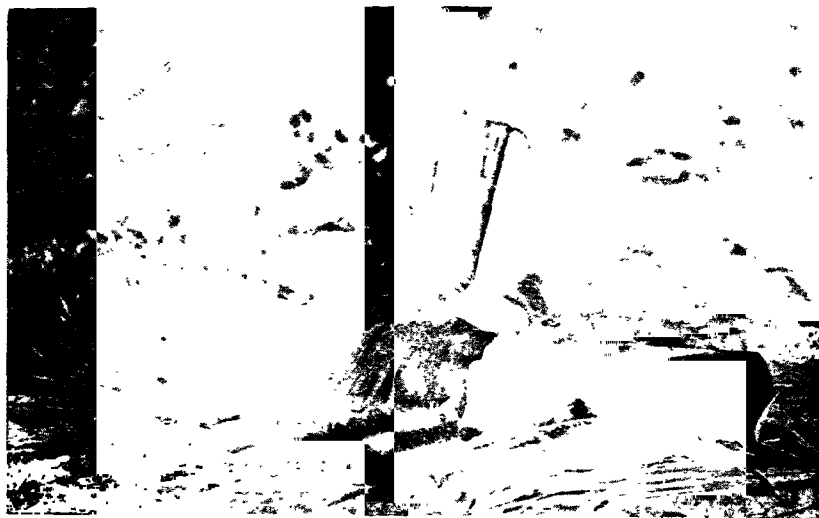


FIG. 3.—BEATING OUT A LENGTH OF BARK-CLOTH OF 'FAKAMARU' TYPE

inches wide at one end, tapering to only a couple of inches wide at the other. Pieces of *mami*, made from sections of trunk of diameter up to 9 inches or so, are rectangles of varying size, commonly measuring about 4 feet by 3 feet in a small sheet (*potu mami*) to about 9 by 6 feet in a large sheet.

Technically, bark-cloth in Tikopia is more roughly made than in most other Polynesian communities. It is efficient enough for the various jobs required of it, and in particular it has considerable tensile strength and durability. But it is apt to be of very coarse texture and harsh surface; a man's new waist-cloth, for instance, is very stiff, scratchy and uncomfortable to wear for a day or so. Pieces of it are not joined together to make large sheets by sewing, gumming, or felting, as is done in some other islands, knot-holes are not mended, and the only decoration consists in dyeing pieces entirely with turmeric. No patterned decoration by stencilling, painting, stamping, or printing is practised.² With this lack of elaborate techniques goes a lack of any specific myth of origins of the craft. All that appears to exist on this score is the mention of the ultimate ancestress, when the land was first discovered, found sitting beating bark-cloth: this simply provides the prototype for female occupations, of which this is conventionally treated as the most general symbol.

An outline of the various stages in the manufacture of the cloth is given in the following Tikopia synoptic text, which I jotted down in abbreviation of a fuller conversational account.

Tou oro o fai fakamaru te aso nei. Ta fakamaru. Ku singa ki raro, tutū ke motu, sau o amo ki nga tai. Tutusi, soka ke fanga, fanga ki te ufe. Sau o furu i roto tai, ke ma, ke leku na toto, na pikipiki ko ia; te tae fakamaru ku peia, na ke raukiri ne fai. Tuku ki te one ke raina, ke pakupaku. Sau mai na, te ra ku to, tuku ki roto a paito. Apongipongi, kae rei o pe ki roto tui ke maru. Ku maru, fetu rei, sau mai o fakaranu ki te vai. au mai rei o tutu. Oti, kae rei o rena ke pakupaku. Au mai rei o fetufetu, e fi ke namuriri—ke koma.

Let's go and prepare bark-cloth today. Fell a bark-cloth tree. When it has toppled down, cut it in two (lopping off the head), take and carry it to the beach. Slit the bark, drive in (a stick) to open it, open it with a wedge. Take it and cleanse it in the sea to become white, that its sap, that is its gum, may disappear. The waste from the tree (its outside bark) has been thrown away: it is its skin (inside bark) which has been treated so. Lay it on the sand to be sunned, to dry. When the sun has gone down, take it thence and lay it inside a house. In the morning, carry it and throw it in the sea to become soft. When it has become soft fold it, take it and wash it in fresh water, and bring it in to beat. When it is finished, carry it and spread it out to dry. Bring it and fold it up, tying it up to become fragrant, strong-smelling.

² This is interesting, since the Tikopia have a series of tattooing designs which could be easily adapted to bark-cloth painting; cf my 'Tattooing in Tikopia,' MAN, 1936, 236.

The text is a useful epitome, embodying many of the terms used in the work, but needs supplementary information.

The trees used for bark-cloth are definite private property; they grow in orchards which are the property of small kinship groups and are subject to the same rules of utilization as are ordinary timber trees.³ In particular, questions whether trees should be cut fairly young to provide *fakamaru*, or left till they are large enough to yield *mami*, may come under discussion. But they are fairly plentiful, and I do not remember ever hearing a household complain that they had not enough trees to supply bark-cloth for any ceremony. Trees are felled with the axe, a European tool which must have lightened the labour considerably by contrast with the old clam-shell-blade adzes. After the head of the tree has been lopped off, the trunk is carried down to the beach, since this offers an open flat space for working. To remove the bark, a slit is made down the trunk of the tree with a knife (in olden days, with a sharp shell) and the bark prised off with the aid of a chisel-pointed stick (the *ufe* or wedge referred to in the text), which is usually made of hard green *fetau* (*Calophyllum*) wood. The bevel of the stick is held outwards, and the bark is freed from the trunk by partly pushing it away and partly cutting it away with the sharp edge of the stick. The operation, which requires some skill and strength, is usually done by men of the household, while the slitting may be done by a woman or a man. (Fig. 1 illustrates these operations.) The operator works first on one side and then on another, and as he gets near the end of the trunk he generally puts a foot on it and has someone else to hold the trunk to prevent it from moving round. Small children are enlisted to hold the bark away from the trunk as it is freed. To strip a medium-sized trunk of its bark takes about ten minutes as a rule, but the time depends on the number of helpers, the number of lever-sticks broken, and the number of small branches that have to be removed in the course of the work.⁴ The long strip of bark is then roughly folded up, carried down to the sea, and washed for two or three minutes to remove the glutinous sap. It is then carried back for removal of the waste outer layer of bark.

This operation is begun by loosening the end fibres—by bending the strip over and separating the two layers with a knife for about 8 inches. The operation is continued by tearing the two layers apart, one method being to get a small boy to stand on the outer

³ See Raymond Firth, *We, The Tikopia*, pp. 390, 404.

⁴ Small trees, of which the bark may tear easily, are slid to and fro for some minutes over a fire after the bark has been slit. The outer bark is blackened but the inner is unharmed, and both come away from the trunk without much difficulty when the lever-stick is applied. See W. H. R. Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, Vol. I, pl. XXIV, fig. 1.

layer while the leathery inner layer is pulled away from it. The outer layer of bark is then discarded: if there are children about they may use it in play as a kind of sledge on the sand. The inner bark has any adherent pieces of outer bark removed and knot-holes trimmed up.

The bark is then set out on the upper beach, or any other dry sandy place, to dry thoroughly and, presumably, to toughen. It is not laid flat, but as far as possible on edge. (Fig. 2 shows several strips of bark set out in this fashion.) This drying takes as a rule a couple of days, but depends on the sun; the bark is taken indoors each evening and set out again in the morning. After being dried the bark is soaked for some hours in salt water to become soft, then rinsed in fresh water, and is then ready for beating out.

Beating out bark-cloth—an operation known as *tutu*—is one of the most characteristic occupations of Tikopia women, and the ringing, almost metallic, sound is commonly heard in the villages in the cool of the early morning. A solid log about 5 feet long and 8 inches square is used as an anvil, and the beater is an implement of *toa* (*Casuarina*) wood, about 1 foot long and 2 inches square section for most of its length, but with a smooth, rounded handle. Three of the sides of the beater are grooved (to assist in spreading the fibres); the remaining side is smooth, and is used for finishing off the cloth. The beater is known as *ike*, the anvil slab as *tunga*. The bark is laid in folds on a fresh leaf of banana or *pulaka* (*Alocasia*) on the far side of the slab, and drawn across it as required by the left hand of the worker; the wooden beater is wielded in the right hand, which delivers the blow at a slight angle to the strip of bark, which is laid almost squarely over the slab. Fig. 3, taken while a girl was at work, shows the method of beating out the cloth. Sometimes two or three girls will beat out cloth together for company, using the same slab and singing gently or carrying out a low conversation the while. When the cloth is finished—and it is never beaten out very finely in Tikopia—it is laid in the sun to dry finally, this time being set out flat on the sand, with stones along the edges to prevent them curling up. After this drying and stretching, it is then ready for wear, for ceremonial presentation, or for storage by wrapping up in a bundle to withstand the attacks of insects. Cloth is dyed by steeping it in water which carries turmeric in suspension, but not many cloths are so treated.

Since a large number of bark-cloths may be used at any ceremony in which a household is deeply involved, the aim of every good housewife is to accumulate a stock in advance of possible demands. To some extent, therefore, beating out bark-cloth tends to be partly a leisure-time occupation as well as a response to immediate requirements.

There are many uses for bark-cloth in Tikopia. A long strip of *fakamaru* provides a man's waist-cloth (*maro* or *ngatitara*); a small sheet of *mami* gives a woman's skirt (*raroa* or *ngatinea*); a large sheet of *mami* makes a blanket for sleeping or a wrap over the shoulders in cool weather. A strip of *fakamaru* is used as a gift to a composer of a dance song in return for the dedication of the song to a member of another kinship group, or to a god of that group; this gift, trailed out across the dancing ground, is known as *ufi*. Bark-cloth is also the principal item in a ceremonial bundle of goods (possibly including fine mats of pandanus leaf or a piece of calico) given in compensation for specialist work such as wood-carving or tattooing, or the healing of a sick person: this bundle is known as *maro*, the same term as for a man's waist-cloth. The *maro*, either as a single piece of cloth or as a bundle, is also an important type of offering to gods and spirits. Such a *maro* often is topped off with a piece of bark-cloth which has been dyed an orange colour with turmeric. This orange cloth is known as *marotafi* (literally, 'dyed *maro*'). It is never offered or included at random, but always dedicated to some specific god, normally one of the most important in the Tikopia pantheon.⁵ Apart from this, bark-cloth is also used for such purposes as: wrapping for cylinders of turmeric; plugs for the small holes in the wooden cylindrical 'ovens' in which the turmeric is baked⁶; caulking for the joints in canoe planks; soft bundles used by women as pillows (men use blocks of wood or carved wooden head-rests); ritual neck-cloths worn by female relatives of the very sick or of boys about to undergo initiation; straps for tying loads on women's backs.

Bark-cloth is thus one of the most important of consumer's goods in the Tikopia economy, though its production requires very little specialist skill, and the raw material is in fairly ample and constant supply, relative to the existing level and pattern of demand for it. The number of existing types produced is small, and the aim of production is normally for increase of quantity, not for improvement of range or quality. In ceremonial gifts or exchanges, there is some specification of types laid down by tradition as appropriate, but quality as such is almost irrelevant, and no great attention is paid to numbers (a *maro* may contain, say, five to ten pieces of bark-cloth without exciting much comment). It is the item as a whole, within broad limits of type and quantity, that is important. Such was the situation as I knew it in 1928-9, and as I understand it to have been until at least before the war with Japan.

⁵ For example, see my *Work of the Gods in Tikopia*, Vol. I, pp. 59, 64, 69; Vol. II, p. 367 (*London School of Economics, Monographs on Social Anthropology*, nos. 1 and 2, 1940).

⁶ *Work of the Gods*, Vol. II, pp. 360, 365.

But when in the course of time the Tikopia are presented with a wide range of European cloth—as must certainly happen in the long run—it is probable that some modification will take place in their system of exchanges. When I was there a rough equivalence obtained between bark-cloth and the small amount of European cloth already acquired; a fathom of white calico was equivalent to a *mami* sheet, and a fathom of red calico to an orange *marotafi*, for ceremonial purposes. As European cloth becomes

more common, however, more distinction is likely to be made between the different qualities, and this is likely to react on the Tikopia exchange system, making for a more careful estimation of the comparative worth of each individual element in any gift or reciprocation, and probably for a reduction in the number of elements forming the conventional *maro* bundle. It may be of interest to some future ethnographer to see how far this prediction is borne out.

CHOICE OF THE UNIT OF MEASUREMENT IN ANTHROPOMETRY. By Miss M. L. Tildesley, Chairman of the International Comité de Standardisation de la Technique anthropologique (C.S.T.A.)

75

Introductory

A criticism voiced from time to time concerning some of the anthropometric data published is that they are recorded to too fine a unit and give a misleading impression of accuracy. What is the good, say the critics, of recording a character to the nearest millimetre if it can barely be determined reliably to within a centimetre? The question is usually rhetorical, and tinged with scorn; but its persistence and practical bearing demand an answer if there is one. So let us discuss the considerations relevant to the choice of unit, and then apply them to various characters of the human body.

Let us take shoulder breadth as a character into whose measurement there comes an element of observational variability which is by no means negligible. Measurements of shoulder breadth made 50 times by Dr. Morris Steggerda on the same subject at intervals spread over several days¹ varied around their mean value with an S.D. of 5.46 mm., the σ of his observational variability being thus estimated at 5.52 mm.² In this experiment everything would favour observational consistency: the subject, being a colleague, would understand at the outset what was required of her; repetition would tend to standardize both her posture and the points selected by the observer as the acromia from which to measure; and report says that Dr. Steggerda is a careful and exact observer. Ordinarily, a series of recorded shoulder breadths has been measured on different individuals; usually these

have no previous knowledge of what is required of them; often the observer does not speak their language and works in difficult conditions; and observers differ considerably among themselves in the matter of consistency of technique. The average observational variability to be reckoned with in published series of shoulder breadths would therefore have a substantially higher σ than 5.52 mm.: how much higher is at present a matter of guesswork, but let us call it 8 mm. Presumably, in the case of shoulder breadth (though not where a *maximum* measurement is sought, as in span), observational errors would be as likely to exceed as to fall below the true value—or their mean value, if the observer's technique had a bias tending to exaggerate or minimize the true value—and would follow a 'normal' distribution. If the latter had a σ of 8 mm., nearly 32 per cent. of the observations would have an error of 8 mm. or more, 5 per cent. would have an error of nearly 16 mm. (=1.96 times 8 mm.) or more, and 1 per cent. an error of just over 20 mm. (=2.58 times 8 mm.) or more. In these circumstances, to how fine a unit should shoulder breadth be recorded?

The answer depends to some extent on the object one has in view, and we may take three possible objectives: (1) the correct recording of individuals as individuals, *e.g.* for purposes of identification; (2) as correct an estimate as possible of the mean size and variability of the character in the group to which the measured individuals belong; (3) as correct an estimate as possible of the mean and variability of differences between pairs of measurements, for the purpose of testing the similarity between different observers' techniques. In this paper, we shall discuss these three objectives in turn. But before doing so, we may call attention to the obvious fact that the correctness of the subject's posture and the degree of accuracy with which the observer identifies the acromia and places his caliper tips thereon have nothing whatever to do with the accuracy with which the instrument records the distance of those tips

¹ Shoulder breadth is one of the 65 characters on which this test is reported on pp. 267-8 of Davenport, Steggerda, and Drager, 'A Critical Examination of Physical Anthropometry on the Living,' *Proc. Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sci.*, LXIX, pp. 265-84.

² In this paper, the term S.D. will be used to denote the standard deviation of a sample about its own mean, and the term σ to denote the standard deviation of the population from which it is drawn. As σ is approximately $\sqrt{\frac{N}{N-1}}$ times the average value of the S.D. of a sample of N individuals, the term 'estimate of σ ' will signify the S.D. $\therefore \sqrt{\frac{N}{N-1}}$.

apart; nor is there any virtue in 'whole numbers' to render them more likely to represent the true acromial breadth. To read a measurement as 38 cm. when the scale gives 384 mm. is merely to add another inaccuracy to those that may have already affected the measurement. Whether it will help to correct or will exaggerate the others is purely a matter of chance.

Measuring the Individual as Such

This first objective of anthropometric measurement is of little concern to the anthropologist as such: the dimensions of the individuals whom he measures as a sample of a group are of no interest whatever in themselves, for his purpose is to extract from them the most reliable estimate possible of the group values.

But let us put a case where reading the calipers to too large a unit might defeat justice: One of the said critics, measuring natives, is found stunned—for last man measured, notebook records only shoulder breadth 38 cm.—last man rightly suspected (anthropologist had pressed ear-plugs upward rather hard in measuring head height); assailant must be identified: assistant, temporarily absent in search of whisky (*e.g.* for a rabid jackal's bite), now measures many shoulder breadths, including assailant's: caliper shows 406 mm., which he records as 41 cm.: difference 3 cm.—completely exonerated, because a Table of the Probability Integral shows that a difference of 3 cm. (2.655×11.3 mm.) would have been reached (or exceeded) through observational error about once in 125 times, too rarely to permit of a conviction short of other and overwhelming evidence.

But suppose a more enlightened system of recording and interpreting data: Records, 384 and 406 mm.: difference 22 mm.—observers' techniques already tested: estimated difference of bias, nil: σ of observational variability, 8 mm. for each: σ of observational differences therefore 8 mm. $\times \sqrt{2} = 11.3$ mm.—a difference of 22 mm. or more in measurements of the same person likely to occur about once in 20 times.

Estimating the Mean and Variability of a Character in an Ethnic Group

The second of our three objectives is to obtain data for making estimates, as correct as possible, of body size in the group as a whole, from measurements on a series of individuals taken at random from that group. This therefore is the consideration that should govern the choice of unit, thereby determining the accuracy aimed at in recording the actual caliper measurements on an individual.

It is true that the caliper tips are not likely to be placed invariably and accurately on the 'right' spots, with the 'right' amount of pressure, nor the postures of the subjects to be so completely standardized that these spots are always the 'right' distance apart: but, as before, any idea of rectifying matters by a

rough and ready reading of the scale is futile. The first thing to do is to obtain as reliable an estimate as possible of the mean and variability of the distribution represented by the measurements, the distribution that is a compound of group dimensions and observational error. The sample we have of this distribution is our only source of information regarding the tribe, and if we group our data too broadly we lessen the reliability of our estimates of its mean and variability without helping in the least to negative the effects of observational error.

The compound distribution may differ in two ways from the distribution of the character itself. If the observational error has a bias which tends either to minimize or to exaggerate the value of the character in the individuals, this bias will be reflected in the mean. Secondly, the error will be variable, and the combined variability of character and error will be greater than the variability of the character alone. Thus the σ of the character-as-measured will increase as observational technique becomes less consistent, and the standard errors of the sampling estimates thus obtained, whether of the mean or of σ , will increase proportionately. The estimates will still be the best available for the mean and σ of the character-as-measured (and, unless there is bias, for the mean of the character itself), but their reliability will have been reduced to that of estimates derived by a less variable technique from a smaller sample. The standard errors attached to these sampling estimates will, however, be correctly based upon the increased variability to which observational error has contributed.

We see, therefore, that, when sample means are corrected for any difference of observational bias by which they have been affected, they may be used and compared in the light of their standard errors (*s.e.'s*) without importing into the decisions based upon them any risk beyond that which we consciously run in the ordinary way. The only effect of observational errors that are random and unbiased will be that differences between pairs of means, to be regarded as significant, will have to be rather higher than would have been necessary if greater observational consistency had resulted in giving them somewhat smaller standard errors.

How often then can we assume that bias, if it exists, is the same bias? In the case of means obtained by the same observer, perhaps: but certainly not in comparing the far more numerous means obtained by different observers: and in so far as these means are affected differently and to an unknown extent by observational bias, they will be a source of erroneous conclusions regarding the groups compared. So we must see how we can avoid, or at least minimize, errors from this source. Two ways present themselves: one is to make definitions of technique as exact,

comprehensive, and unambiguous as possible, words being supplemented by illustrations wherever these can help: the other is the publication by numerous pairs of observers of the differences (with s.e.'s) between their mean values in measuring the same character on the same series of individuals. This would provide us with data as to the order of difference to be prepared for in bias, and enable us to make allowance for it in drawing conclusions from differences between pairs of recorded means.

From corrections or allowances for bias, we turn now to corrections for observational variability. To get an estimate of an observer's variability in measuring a character, he must measure a sufficiently long series of individuals twice over (50 or more if possible, but not less than 30), calculate the S.D. of his differences, estimate therefrom the σ they represent, and divide this estimate by $\sqrt{2}$. This will give him an estimate of the σ of his observational errors: we may call it σ_o . Unlike error due to bias, which in so far as observations on the living are concerned can only be measured direct if the observers whose results are to be compared are in contact and can co-operate, the value of σ_o can be assessed and recorded by each observer for himself. It should indeed become a practice for each observer to estimate his σ_o in this way for every character he measures, and to publish this value along with the measurements.

Returning now to the tribal or group data, we will term the estimated σ of the character-as-measured σ_m , and that of the character itself σ_c . Then the best available estimate of σ_c will be $\sqrt{(\sigma_m^2 - \sigma_o^2)}$. It is true that this corrected estimate of the σ of the character will be less good than one obtained with observational variability much smaller or virtually absent. The correction will take no account of the fact that the observer's technique will be more variable in some circumstances than in others, that with projective measurements σ_o may be larger with larger individuals than with smaller, and so on. But approximately it will correct. And where observational variability is relatively great, the correction will substantially reduce the estimated σ of the character. Let, for example, the estimated σ of shoulder-breadth-as-measured be 19.22 mm., this being the average of 69 S.D.'s of shoulder breadth recorded in the literature, and let σ_o be 8 mm. Then the corrected estimate of σ_c is $\sqrt{(19.22^2 - 8^2)} = 17.48$ mm.

One further point must be dealt with before we can pass on, namely the criterion as to when two variabilities thus estimated shall be deemed significantly different. Let σ_i and σ'_c be two such estimates, derived respectively from two measured samples of N_m and N'_m individuals and from estimates of observational variability obtained from tests on N_o and

N'_o individuals. The significance of the difference between σ_c and σ'_c would of course have to be assessed by means of their s.e.'s; and, each having been obtained through a formula and not direct, we have no s.e.'s for them. We have, however, s.e.'s for the corresponding variances, σ_c^2 and $\sigma'_c{}^2$. The s.e. of σ_c^2 , when the latter is obtained from the formula

$$\sigma_c^2 = \sigma_m^2 - \sigma_o^2, \text{ is } \sqrt{\left\{ \sigma_m^2 \cdot \sqrt{\left(\frac{2}{N_m - 1}\right)} - \sigma_o^2 \cdot \sqrt{\left(\frac{2}{N_o - 1}\right)} \right\}}.$$

The s.e. of $\sigma_c^2 - \sigma'_c{}^2$ will, as usual, be the square root of the sum of the squares of the two s.e.'s, and the difference between the two variances can be judged in terms of its s.e. in the usual way.

These, then, and not a rough and ready reading of the scale, are the appropriate methods for dealing with observational inaccuracy for the purposes of our second objective. And the only way in which they are adversely affected by the size of the unit of measurement is that too large a unit lessens the reliability of the estimates they make. What, then, is 'too large' a unit?

It has been found that when a unit is no more than three-fifths of the σ of the distribution sampled, the standard error of the sample mean is increased by no more than 1 per cent., and the increases in the s.e.'s of the estimates of σ and σ^2 are equally negligible.³ One might take 0.6σ therefore as the upper limit of size desirable in one's unit of measurement. As to a lower limit, this is imposed by the measuring instrument. Ordinarily it is calibrated no finer than to a millimetre, and though one can judge the reading to the nearest half-millimetre or even tenth of a millimetre, these finer readings would only be taken when the criterion as to 'upper limit' made it desirable. The choice, then, in practice lies between the centimetre, the millimetre, and possibly, in some cases, a fraction of a millimetre (for no human dimensions are so great as to suggest the decimetre as unit). And if the unit chosen proves to have been unnecessarily fine, making too many categories to be coped with comfortably in the subsequent calculations, no disadvantage is suffered by the choice, for then one merely goes on to group the data.⁴

³ The s.e.'s of both mean and S.D. are functions of σ , which in practice is replaced by the estimate derived from the S.D. of the sample. The increase in average size of the S.D. when category breadth was increased from very fine to 0.6σ was found experimentally, in 50 samples of 100, to be under 1 per cent. (Tildesley, 'Sources and Extent of Errors in Estimating Standard Deviations of Normally Distributed Populations' MAN, 1940, 180, Table III).

⁴ Category breadth could either be made approximately equal to three-fifths of the 'very conservative guess at σ ' discussed in the next paragraph (made 5 mm., for example, in the case of shoulder breadth), or else determined by the number of categories into which it would divide the sample range. The following data may be a guide. In a sample of 20, from a 'normal' distribution, the mean number of

The only disadvantage therefore lies in making the unit too large, and by 'too large' we have decided that we mean 'more than 0.6σ .' But the σ of the distribution about to be sampled is usually unknown, and the exact value of 0.6σ likewise. Any guess at its size should therefore be a conservative one, likely to be well under, and most unlikely to be over, the true value. The data given in Table I will be a help in making this guess: it gives the mean value and range of S.D.'s recorded in the literature for 70 characters of the living body. Though the S.D.'s on which this table is based cannot claim to include all that have been published for their respective characters, the search through the literature has been very wide, and only those based on fewer than 30 individuals have been rejected. Nor was there rejection of S.D.'s for other characters than those given in the table: but for our purpose it is unnecessary to include in Table I data for alternative methods of measurement (e.g. span measured from in front as well as from behind, for although the mean value of the character is altered by this difference of technique, the variability is practically unchanged); also, a considerable number of characters are omitted from the table which have been measured only rarely and have provided less than three S.D.'s.

Table I gives the mean value and the range of the S.D.'s found for our 70 characters. The range, as always, is a very inconstant quantity, and, when expressed in terms of the mean value, is made all the more variable by the fact that the number of S.D.'s varies from 3 to 245. Taken as a whole, however, this series of ranges gives us some indication of how small our σ might prove to be. We note that in only two cases is the smallest value less than half the mean value, this occurring in two of the longest series of S.D.'s (245 and 176 respectively) where greater extremes are to be expected. Accordingly, since we are out to make a very conservative guess at the σ with which we are about to deal, we might put it at half the mean value which is recorded in the final column of the table: in which case, 0.6σ would be three-tenths of this value. If this is to be the maximum size of

the unit chosen, we must make our unit less than a millimetre where the mean S.D. is less than 3.3 mm., and less than a centimetre where the mean S.D. is less than 33 mm.

Let us do this: we shall then choose half a

TABLE I. INTRA-RACIAL VARIABILITY OF VARIOUS CHARACTERS AS RECORDED FOR SAMPLES OF NOT LESS THAN 30 INDIVIDUALS

Character	S.D.'s collected from the Literature (in mm.)		
	No.	Range	Mean S.D.
<i>Diameters of Head and Face</i>			
Auticular height (from level of trignon)	86	3.89-9.34	5.90
Maximum head length	245	3.9-8.90	6.35
Maximum head breadth	245	2.53-7.14	5.21
Minimum frontal breadth	91	3.14-6.56	4.61
Bi-zygomatic breadth	203	3.4-8.25	5.26
Bi-gonial breadth	102	4.39-8.06	5.76
Maximum inter-orbital breadth	8	4.30-8.17	6.57
Breadth between pupils	8	2.9-4.04	3.37
Breadth between inner corners of eyes	43	2.11-3.52	2.67
Breadth between outer corners of eyes	22	3.10-5.30	4.01
Width of mouth	27	2.67-5.14	3.76
Maximum nose breadth	176	1.07-4.53	2.80
Nose depth (subnasale to tip)	12	2.04-3.56	2.61
Breadth of eyelid	9	1.30-1.84	1.61
Thickness of lips	15	2.57-4.50	3.66
Physiognomic face height (to crinion)	40	7.27-11.0	8.87
Morphologic face height (to nasion)	169	4.0-8.82	6.53
Morphologic upper-face height (to nasion)	44	3.91-7.13	4.99
Nose height (nasion to subnasale)	145	2.18-7.45	3.86
Nose length (nasion to tip)	4	3.59-5.62	4.84
Ear length	58	3.01-6.46	4.27
Ear breadth	47	1.84-3.71	2.65
<i>Diameters of Trunk and Limbs</i>			
Span (from behind)	52	38.4-92.4	71.24
Shoulder breadth (biacromial)	69	14.7-29.4	19.22
Chest breadth (at rest)	27	12.4-28.3	18.19
Chest depth (at rest)	25	11.1-19.9	15.36
Pelvic breadth (ilio-cristal)	55	12.1-21.9	15.82
Ilio-spinal breadth	7	11.9-18.8	15.59
Bitrochanteric breadth	14	12.4-18.8	15.59
Arm length (acromion-daetylion)	10	30.6-47.6	35.95
Upper-arm length (acromion-radiale)	8	16.1-21.2	18.74
Forearm length (radiale-stylian)	6	12.2-17.1	16.42
Length of cubit (radiale-daetylion)	4	19.0-20.4	19.70
Length of hand (stylian-daetylion)	35	4.7-14.7	9.59
Breadth of hand	35	3.5-5.7	4.55
Length of middle finger	9	4.5-6.2	5.25
Length of foot	26	8.8-16.5	12.08
Breadth of foot	22	4.8-7.5	6.06
Length of big toe	7	3.4-4.4	3.87
<i>Circumferences</i>			
Head girth	47	12.3-18.4	14.96
Neck girth	7	13.9-22.7	18.10
Chest girth (at rest)	38	28.3-70.2	49.87
Waist girth	4	35.0-43.3	39.00
Maximum girth of upper arm (muscle balled)	4	17.3-27.5	21.07
Maximum girth of upper arm (muscle slack)	3	14.6-28.5	19.47
Maximum girth of forearm	3	12.4-18.4	14.77
Minimum girth of forearm	3	8.2-11.7	9.73
Maximum girth of thigh	3	23.0-30.9	28.13
Maximum girth of lower leg	8	17.6-30.9	23.94
Minimum girth of lower leg	6	12.4-18.6	14.18
<i>Projective Measurements</i>			
(1) Stature	213	32.0-77.3	59.62
(2) Supra-sternal height	20	45.4-90.0	56.23
Height of head and neck (1-2)	4	11.0-16.9	13.95
(3) Symphysal height	19	32.8-49.5	42.28
(4) Trunk height (2-3)	21	18.6-30.1	24.44
(3) Trochanteric height	11	32.4-65.3	42.88
(5) Knee height (to tibiale)	6	20.9-27.8	24.67
Length of thigh (4-5)	7	24.8-29.6	26.84
(6) Ankle height (to sphyrion)	15	4.6-8.0	5.92
Length of lower leg (5-6)	8	20.7-25.6	22.91
(7) Shoulder height (to acromion)	31	45.4-77.4	57.39
(8) Elbow height (to radiale)	5	42.9-48.8	45.06
Length of upper arm (7-8)	10	15.5-23.7	18.58
(9) Height to wrist (to stylian)	3	34.9-38.1	6.90
Length of forearm (8-9)	8	11.9-22.4	17.57
(10) Height to tip of middle finger	7	30.9-38.8	33.90
Arm length (7-10)	29	28.0-39.6	33.18
(11) Sitting height	116	23.1-49.2	33.34
Leg length (1-11)	24	33.9-51.4	42.12
(12) Trunk height (supra-sternal to seat)	10	21.4-28.1	25.54

categories 0.6σ broad is 7.22: of 50, 8.50: of 100, 9.36: of 200, 10.15: of 300, 10.59: of 400, 10.89: of 500, 11.13: and of 1,000, 11.81. The extent to which the number of categories (of this breadth) varies is indicated by the following distributions, ignoring those extremes which have less than a half-per-cent. chance of occurring:

Size of Sample	Number of Categories								Mean No. of Categories
	13 per cent.	12 per cent.	11 per cent.	10 per cent.	9 per cent.	8 per cent.	7 per cent.	6 per cent.	
60	—	1	5	17	33	32	11	1	8.73
100	—	2	11	29	38	18	2	—	9.36
200	2	7	25	40	23	3	—	—	10.15

millimetre as the unit to which we record nose breadth, nose depth, breadth of eyelid, breadth of ear; and, it may be added, thickness of lips if the group to be measured is (unlike those whose S.D.'s are recorded in the table) relatively thin-lipped.

By the same criterion, a centimetre could be the unit of measurement for span, arm length (measured direct), chest girth, and waist girth; also, on one condition, for the following projective measurements: stature, supra-sternal height, symphyseal height, trochanteric height, shoulder height, elbow height, wrist height, height to tip of middle finger, and sitting height. The condition is that these measurements should not be used to obtain indirect measurement of projective distances between any two of them unless that projective distance has a mean S.D. exceeding, say, 80 mm. (the reason for putting the limit higher for these differences than for the single projective height is given in the next section). This immediately rules out height to elbow, wrist, and finger-tip, which are normally used only for the indirect measurement of length of upper arm, forearm, and total arm; and if shoulder height is needed for this purpose, it too goes out. Trochanteric height is eliminated from the list if length of thigh is to be derived from it; so are supra-sternal and symphyseal heights if they are to be used to measure trunk height; and so is stature if height of head and neck is of interest, as it has been to a few observers. In fact, if the whole of the projective measurements, direct and indirect, in our Table I were wanted, the only one that, under the above rule, could be measured in centimetres is sitting height.

Apart from those that could be recorded in centimetres, and those few that should be measured to half a millimetre, the remaining characters in Table I would be measured in millimetres where the objective is the one we have been considering.

Estimating the Mean and Variability of Differences between Pairs of Values

What should be the size of the unit, when the objective is to estimate no longer the size and variability of the characters themselves, but the much smaller values obtained by subtracting, say, the size of a character at one period from its size a year later (to get growth increment), or the size as measured by one observer from that obtained by another (for tests of technique), is the question we must now discuss.

The categories into which direct measurements are grouped are continuous but not overlapping: differences between pairs of measurements, on the other hand, are grouped in categories, each of which overlaps half of each of its neighbours. When, for instance, measurements are grouped by the millimetre as unit, 76 mm. stands for 75.5-76.5, and 77 mm. for

76.5-77.5; so that 77 minus 76 may mean anything from 0 to 2 mm., and 78 minus 76 anything from 1 to 3 mm.; and so on. If we call the breadth of the original categories h , then the differences are grouped in categories of breadth $2h$, with their successive mid-points occurring at intervals of h .

The substitution of the value at the mid-point of a category for all values within the range of that category exaggerates by $\frac{h^2}{12}$, on an average, the value of

the mean squared deviations from the sample mean (that is, the sample variance), if the sample comes from a 'normal' distribution divided into non-overlapping categories in the ordinary way; for which

reason $\frac{h^2}{12}$ is deducted in calculating the variance of

the sample ('Sheppard's correction'), unless of course h is so small that the deduction of $\frac{h^2}{12}$ affects none of

the figures to which the resultant S.D. is recorded. Since categories of differences are twice as wide as those of the measurements themselves, the writer consulted Dr. M. S. Bartlett as to the appropriate correction in this case. He replied that a deduction of $\frac{h^2}{6}$

from the mean squared deviations would correct for the average effect of the breadth of grouping, but that the correction for grouping was of the order $\lambda\sigma h$, where λ is a numerical constant depending on the law of distribution, and if h were large in relation to σ , the correction would be so large compared with σ^2 that it would be quite impracticable to estimate σ^2 from the observed variance.

So while $\frac{h^2}{12}$ and $\frac{h^2}{6}$ both represent only the *average*

increases in the variances they respectively correct, h being the interval between the category mid-points, the individual increases are not only larger but more variable in the case of differences than in the case of direct measurements, given the same value of h (in terms of the σ of the distribution analysed). To keep the effects of grouping within the same small limits, therefore, the unit must be smaller than before. The question that naturally follows is: how much smaller? That question has not yet been answered by statistical theory. The value of λ has not been worked out for the law of distribution with which we anthropologists are chiefly concerned, namely the 'normal' law; nor, for that matter, for other laws of distribution either, except the 'rectangular.'

At present, therefore, the only thing for us to do is to make our grouping of differences considerably finer than is necessary in the case of direct measurements. The reduction of the upper limit for h from three-fifths

to a quarter of the appropriate σ was tentatively suggested in our last section, when dealing with characters defined as differences between two projective characters. It is a shot in the dark, but the reduction being substantial one may hope it to be on the safe side of what is required if the σ 's estimated are to be regarded as having lost little potential reliability through the breadth of the grouping. In a sample of 50 differences the mean number of categories produced by a unit of 0.25σ would be 19; in a sample of 30, 17.

To apply the above principle in choosing the units of measurement for tests of technique, we need minimal estimates of the degree of observational variability we may find in the differences between our duplicate measurements. For the reasons set forth in the opening paragraphs of this paper, the tests carried out by Dr. Morris Steggerda on a single subject measured 50 times should fill this want very adequately. The valuable data they furnish for 65 characters form the basis of Table II, estimated minimal σ 's of differences between pairs of observations being given in the final column.

The description given by the authors of the above paper of the way in which their standard deviations were calculated shows that Sheppard's correction was not used. The unit of measurement was, however, small: a study of their tables makes it apparent that the instruments were read to the nearest half millimetre throughout. The correction therefore makes no difference to many of their S.D.'s, though it modifies the smaller ones and reduces the smallest by 10 per cent. The corrected S.D.'s are given in column 2, Bartlett's correction being used for those characters which are measured by the subtraction of one projective measurement from another.

As regards these 'difference' characters, it will be noticed incidentally that observational variability is greater when they are thus measured indirectly than when the same characters are measured as diameters direct: this, of course, is what one would expect (and in this connexion it may be mentioned that Dr. Steggerda also measured the length and breadth of hand and foot indirectly from traced outlines, and for each of these four characters got a greater mean size and found greater observational variability, not only absolute but also in terms of the mean). It will be seen too that the observational variability of the 'difference' characters cannot be calculated from that of the measured pair by the formula $\sigma_{1-2} = \sqrt{(\sigma_1^2 + \sigma_2^2)}$: the latter gives too high a figure because the observational errors in the characters differenced are positively correlated. And, as before, in selecting the unit of measurement for testing the latter characters, one must be guided not by their individual observational variabilities but by that of the least variable values to be derived from them.

TABLE II. VARIABILITY IN MEASUREMENTS RECORDED BY DR. MORRIS STEGGERDA 50 TIMES ON THE SAME SUBJECT (\bar{x} , HEIGHT 167 CM.) OVER A PERIOD OF SEVERAL DAYS

Character	S.D. as given	S.D. with Sheppard's or Bartlett's Correction	Estimate of σ of Error	Corresponding σ of Differences between Pairs
<i>Diameters of Head and Face</i>				
Maximum head length	0.43	0.41	0.41	0.58
Maximum head breadth	0.46	0.44	0.44	0.62
Minimum frontal breadth	1.12	1.11	1.12	1.59
Bizygomatic breadth	0.32	0.29	0.29	0.41
Bigonial breadth	0.98	0.97	0.98	1.38
Breadth between inner corners of eyes	0.59	0.57	0.58	0.82
Breadth between outer corners of eyes	1.31	1.30	1.32	1.86
Width of mouth	1.47	1.46	1.48	2.09
Maximum nose breadth	0.65	0.63	0.64	0.91
Nose depth	1.31	1.30	1.32	1.86
Nose salient	1.50	1.49	1.51	2.13
Height of nose bridge	1.65	1.64	1.66	2.35
Thickness of lips	0.84	0.83	0.84	1.18
Physiognomic face height (trich-gnathion)	1.89	1.88	1.90	2.69
Morphologic face height (nasion-gnathion)	1.59	1.58	1.60	2.26
Nose height	1.57	1.56	1.58	2.23
Nasion to stinion	1.53	1.52	1.54	2.18
Right ear length	1.47	1.46	1.48	2.09
Right ear breadth	1.13	1.12	1.13	1.60
<i>Diameters of Trunk and Limbs</i>				
Span (from behind)	6.72	6.72	6.79	9.60
Shoulder breadth (biacromial)	5.46	5.46	5.52	7.80
Chest breadth	3.50	3.50	3.54	5.00
Chest depth	2.40	2.40	2.42	3.42
Pelvic breadth (ilio-cristal)	3.13	3.13	3.16	4.47
Ilio-spinal breadth	7.20	7.20	7.27	10.29
Bitrochanteric breadth	7.42	7.42	7.50	10.60
Right arm length excluding hand (acromion-styloid)	2.56	2.56	2.58	3.65
Right upper-arm length (acromion-radiale)	3.64	3.64	3.67	5.20
Right forearm length (radiale-styloid)	3.26	3.26	3.29	4.65
Right hand length	2.26	2.26	2.28	3.22
Right hand breadth	1.21	1.20	1.21	1.72
Right lower leg length (tibiale-sphyron)	3.29	3.29	3.32	4.70
Right foot length	1.54	1.53	1.55	2.19
Right foot breadth	2.07	2.06	2.09	2.95
<i>Circumferences</i>				
Head girth	1.86	1.85	1.87	2.65
Neck girth	2.57	2.57	2.59	3.67
Chest girth	7.78	7.78	7.86	11.11
Waist girth	10.81	10.81	10.92	15.44
Right upper arm girth	6.15	6.15	6.21	8.79
Right lower arm girth (maximum)	2.21	2.21	2.23	3.15
Right lower arm girth (minimum)	2.07	2.06	2.09	2.95
Right wrist girth	1.53	1.52	1.54	2.18
Right calf girth	4.71	4.71	4.76	6.73
Right ankle girth	2.47	2.47	2.49	3.52
<i>Projective Measurements</i>				
(1) Stature	3.10	3.10	3.13	4.42
(2) Supra-sternal height	3.52	3.52	3.55	5.02
Height of head and neck (1-2)	3.56	3.55	3.59	5.08
(3) Right ilio-spinal height	5.70	5.70	5.76	8.14
(4) Right knee height (to tibiale)	3.37	3.37	3.40	4.81
(5) Right ankle height (to sphyron)	2.04	2.03	2.06	2.91
(6) Right shoulder height (to acromion)	6.38	6.38	6.45	9.11
(7) Right elbow height (to radiale)	8.14	8.14	8.22	11.63
Right upper-arm length (6-7)	4.53	4.53	4.57	6.46
(8) Right wrist height (to styloid)	6.48	6.48	6.55	9.26
Right lower-arm length (7-8)	4.45	4.45	4.49	6.35
Right arm length excluding hand (6-8)	2.42	—	—	—
(9) Right dactylion height	6.36	6.36	6.42	9.09
Right arm length including hand (6-9)	7.50	7.50	7.58	10.71
(10) Sitting height	5.36	5.36	5.41	7.66
(11) Trunk height (to supra-sternal from seat)	5.96	5.96	6.02	8.51

* There appears to be a slip here.

N.B. The s.e.'s of all values in the last two columns are \pm one-tenth of the value itself.

It is unfortunate that, of the very few tests of observational bias or observational variability recorded as yet in the literature, some are based on too short a series of observations to be of use, while some others have been obtained by a unit of measurement so large in relation to the σ of the differences measured that, in Dr. Bartlett's words, 'it would be quite impracticable to estimate σ^2 from the observed variance.' But we are indebted to the pioneers for having led the way by putting on record their tests of the observational error involved in a given definition of a character, and, since we are still at the early stages of attempting thus to true the tools of our science, there has been in this respect no such large and lamentable waste of labour as is due to our failure to adopt the same definitions.

Summary

The choice of a unit of measurement depends not on the accuracy to which a character is measured, but on the fineness of grouping required in order to obtain from the data as reliable an estimate of the variability of the character-as-measured as sample size permits. Accuracy of observation is indeed important, but a large unit of measurement not only fails to compensate for the lack of it but may add to the resultant error. If the unit is not more than three-fifths of the σ of the character in the group to be sampled, and if this character is measured direct, the loss of potential reliability cannot be more than very slight. In the case of characters defined as differences between two

other characters, or as the sum of two other characters, or in the case of differences between pairs of measurements of the same character for the purpose of testing technique, measuring growth increment or other secular change, etc., the size of unit must be smaller in relation to the σ of the resultant distribution: how much smaller in order to achieve the same result is not yet determined by statistical theory, but provisionally we have suggested that a quarter of the σ of such a distribution might be chosen as the upper limit of size for the unit to which the measurements are recorded.

Data are given for 70 characters of the living body which enable the observer to make conservative estimates of the absolute sizes of units not more than three-fifths, or one-quarter, of the σ 's of these characters in the group he is about to measure. Other data furnish similarly conservative estimates enabling him to choose, for 60 characters, a unit suitable for tests of technique. The method is also set forth by which, having thus estimated observational variability, he may derive from the character-as-measured an improved estimate of the variability of the character itself and, in consequence, truer criteria of the significance of differences between his own observations and those obtained from other ethnic groups.

In conclusion, I wish to express anew my thanks for the Leverhulme Research Fellowship of which this paper is a product.

SHORTER NOTES

Restrictions on Exchange of Publications with Colleagues or Institutions in the Soviet Union

76 The following is quoted from an article by Dr. Henry Field in the *American Anthropologist* (Vol. 48, pp. 375 ff.) on 'Anthropology in the Soviet Union':

'The correct method is to send publications addressed to the President of the Society for the Promotion of Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS), Bol'shaya Gruzinskaya, 52, Moscow, with a written request that he forward them to a specified Museum, Institute, or Library. If a book or reprint is to be sent to an individual, his name and Institute should be inscribed on each copy. VOKS would be glad to receive fifteen extra copies of each book or reprint for distribution to main regional libraries or specialists. One copy of each publication should be inscribed to the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and to the Lenin Library, Moscow.'

'All correspondence with individual scientists should be sent through VOKS and forwarded to the recipient, who in turn should be instructed to reply through VOKS, Moscow.'

The following anthropological journals are now in course of publication:

- (a) *Sovetskaiia Arkheologiia*.
- (b) *Kratkie Soobsheniia* of the Institute for the Study of Material Culture (I.I.M.K.): first issue in press during July, 1945.
- (c) *Sovetskaiia Ethnografiia*.

The Hābiru, the Hebrews, and the Arabs. Summary of a Communication by Dr. A. Guillaume to the Palestine Exploration Fund: November, 1946

77 The name *Hebrew*, now synonymous with Israelite or Jew, once had certainly a far wider connotation. Like the term *British*, it is one by which the people are known to foreigners, but which they seldom use among themselves. In *Genesis* the eponymous ancestor of the Hebrews was 'Eber, and the Israelites claimed to be the senior branch of this family. In this sense 'Hebrews' held all Arabia, while Canaan and Syria were peopled with the Hamites, akin to the Egyptians and other North African folk. Eastward, Asshur and Aram were descended from Shem like the Hebrews, but not in the line of 'Eber. Thus 'Hebrew' meant very much what we mean by 'Arab' in the widest sense, nomad and migratory folk with trading centres in the Hijaz and settlements in the oases, though the earliest reference to South Arabian trade is in connexion with the 'Queen of Sheba' about 1000 B.C.

There were 'Hebrews' dissociated from specific peoples, and occurring in slavery and as marauders, from about 2600 B.C. in Southern Babylonia and about 2000 B.C. in Upper Egypt. By about 1400 B.C. they are of political and military significance, and the name *Hābiru* is a general word for a foreigner. The precise connexion of these generic *Hābiru* with the Biblical 'Hebrews' is left in suspense.

The meaning of the word 'Hebrew' is obscure. About 1000 B.C. it begins to be replaced by 'Arabu'. The *Arābāh* is applied to the floor of the Jordan Valley, but also to 'crossings' of it and of adjacent regions, which 'from the point of view of the Israelite were but tracts which led to Palestine,' occupied by shifting and irresponsible folk, 'freelances willing to co-operate when pay and service were attractive, and ready to strike out for themselves when opportunity offered.' But 'Arabia did not receive its name until the *Hābiru* had relinquished theirs.' Indeed, 'Arabs' are not mentioned by

name until the year 853 B.C., when 'Jindibu the Arabian' brought 1,000 camels to help Ahab of Samaria and other small chiefs to oppose Shalmaneser III. But there was never a single Arab king or state; it was Greek geography which applied the name to the whole peninsula. In the Quran the word 'Arab' probably means Bedouin.

Summarily, the terms *Hābiru*, Hebrew, and Arab are interrelated much more closely than might otherwise be supposed.

The paper will be published in full in the *Palestine Quarterly*.
J. L. MYRES

REVIEWS

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Personality and Religion. By William Brown, M.D., D.Sc. University of London Press, 1946. Pp. 189. Price 9s. 6d. net

78 In considering the general problem of religion in the light of modern psychology, Dr. William Brown draws upon the training he obtained at Oxford when as a medical student he read 'Greats' in addition to the Honour School of Natural Science—no small achievement. This training has enabled him to bring a philosophical insight to bear upon his work as a psychologist both on the academic side at Oxford as Wilde Reader in Mental Philosophy and in his practice in London. It has also kept constantly before his eyes the problem of the theoretical validity and practical efficacy of religious belief. In this volume he restates the conclusions he reached twenty years ago in his book *Mind and Personality*, supported by the experience and knowledge he has gained in the intervening period in deep mental analysis of psycho-neurotic patients as well as of more normal personalities. He also claims in his preface to make herein his 'reasoned confession of faith,' though precisely what this amounts to is not very easy to determine.

After quoting several definitions of religion, none of which would prove to be adequate from the anthropological standpoint, he suggests that religion and religious experience are based on 'the attitude of the individual towards the universe so far as he envisages it as something upon which he completely depends and to which he attaches ultimate value.' This might pass muster anthropologically if it were interpreted in the sense of dependence on a transcendent power or sacred order external to man, to whom (or to which) the universe and humanity stand in a particular relationship. But it is less easy to acquiesce when he quotes with approval Dr. Inge's definition of faith as 'a readiness to trust and to follow the noblest hypothesis.' This certainly is not applicable to primitive states of culture where faith abounds, and in the higher aspects of religion something more than the noblest hypothesis is required as the object of whole-hearted devotion and surrender of the individual.

Again, social anthropology does not help to understand Dr. Brown's personal confession that the ultimate result of an analysis extending over ninety-two hours was that 'he had become more convinced than ever that religion is the most important thing in life and that it is essential to mental health.' But if primitive conditions really are reproduced in these deep psychological experiences, when he adds that 'the need of forms and ceremonies is another matter, far less fundamental' the conclusion is hardly in line with our evidence. As Professor Radcliffe-Brown, for example, has maintained, to understand a religion it is on the rites, rather than on the more variable beliefs, that attention should be concentrated, since ritual is the permanent and stabilizing element whereas doctrine, theology, and myth are in a constant state of flux.

For those, however, who regard religion as an integral part of the structure of society supplying a dynamic indispensable to

the integration of communal life, the emphasis placed by Dr. Brown on the concreteness of religion will be approved. It is curious, nevertheless, to be told in these days that 'in this twentieth century we are only just beginning to be really civilized,' and by civilization apparently is meant mechanical resources, inasmuch as he goes on to affirm that 'the engineers are pouring out inventions and practical devices with the utmost prodigality, making our lives more and more comfortable, more and more easy in every direction.' How this estimate of cultural advance is to be justified in the light of recent events and current happenings it is for the author to explain. If some attention had been paid to the anthropological evidence bearing on the psychological situation, pitfalls of this kind might have been avoided and an interesting study of personality in relation to religion from the scientific standpoint would have been made more convincing and illuminating.

E. O. JAMES

The Missionary and Anthropology. By Gordon Hedderly Smith, F.R.G.S. Chicago: Moody Press, 1945. Pp. 160. Price \$1.50

79 This does not pretend to be a textbook on anthropology but 'simply a humble attempt to stimulate interest in the study.' The author worked in French Indo-China under the Christian and Missionary Alliance among the Cambodians and the Pnong whose language he reduced to writing. He returned to the United States when the Japanese occupied the country. He starts off with the question: 'As missionaries, are we properly fitted to understand the languages, the religious beliefs, the social organizations, etc., of the people among whom we work?' He has to answer the question in the negative. He insists that to understand the savage and his culture we must not use the western yardstick; we must understand and interpret from the savage's point of view. He is a linguist: he believes that language is perhaps the most important branch of anthropology to the missionary and he gives a disproportionate space to this branch of the subject. One blemish of the book is the excessive use of out-of-date authorities. In the bibliography, it is true, he lists some of Seligman's and Malinowski's books; but so far as his numerous quotations go he seems to be largely ignorant of the literature since Tylor and Lubbock. The notable exception to this is the extensive use he makes of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*. In spite of his conviction that the missionary should know as much of the people as the scientific anthropologist does, he says: 'I have never felt it necessary to inquire into immoral practices, for instance, or swear words or the filthy stories with which the natives abound. . . . I do not think we have time to spare for any morbid muck-raking into heathenism's cesspools of uncleanness.' Blinks should not form a part of a missionary's outfit. It is an unsatisfactory book in many respects, but notable as a sign of progress among men of Mr. Smith's school of thought.

E. W. SMITH

The Manley Collection of Stone-Age Tools. By A. Aiyappan, with topographical and other notes by Frank P. Manley. **80** *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 68.*

The Province of Madras is rich in Stone-Age artifacts. Already in the last century Bruce Foote had noted the occurrence of a number of Acheulian-like types of hand-axe, as well as flake tools. L. A. Cammiade and F. J. Richards carried the study considerably further by finding similar tools *in situ* in stratigraphical sequence and relating them to various laterite deposits. The results were published by them in collaboration with the reviewer in *Antiquity*, September, 1930, and in the *Geological Magazine*, LXIX, May, 1932. Definite cycles of climate changes were determined, and the various cultures were correlated with them.

Flinty material is rare in Madras and only occurs naturally in small lumps. The larger *coup-de-poing* industries, therefore, have had to be made from non-flint material and actually resemble closely in appearance the similar industries occurring in South Africa, e.g. at Stellenbosch. Although one or two examples resembling the hen-beak type of Victoria West have also been found in Madras, any close physical connexion between the two similar cultures in South Africa and South-East India cannot in the present state of knowledge be with certainty alleged. The similar appearance of the industries is merely due to the material used.

The Manley collection is extensive, but little or no stratigraphical information is available. As a catalogue of specimens collected at various sites, the work has its value. The system of numbering in the catalogue is confusing, and I am not sure indeed what system, if any, has been adopted! The photographs of selected specimens are fair, but good drawings would have been much more satisfactory. What is really needed in Madras is more quaternary geological information

and the correlations of the various stone industries therewith; and in these regards the present work does not help us much.

By the Godavari river occur pygmy industries similar to those found in the Central Provinces and in Bombay—and more rarely in the N.W. Frontier region. Such industries seem absent from the Manley Collection, as, too, do polished celts similar to those found not so far away at Manjan, Karanai, 1½ miles north of the Korttalaiyar river.

M. C. BURKITT

Asclepius, a Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies. By Emma J. Edelstein and Ludwig Edelstein. **81** *Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1945. 2 Vols. Pp. viii, 470; x, 277. Price \$7.50*

This highly comprehensive book reflects an enormous amount of work on the part of the authors. It is in two volumes, the first (470 pages) containing the testimonies.

Many, of course, are repetitions of others and may appear wearisome, but it is obvious that in a book which sets out to be comprehensive it is essential that all evidence, however trivial, should be collected. The second volume is smaller (277 pages) and is a well thought out explanation of the facts as recorded. There are certain places, for instance the section on temple-cures, where one wonders whether, if the authors had had a lifetime's experience as practising medical men, they would have looked at the cures from a different angle and arrived at a different conclusion. Still, if they had spent all their lives in medical practice, they might not have had the time to write so interesting a book. Though there are several indexes there is no subject index. The authors say that having regard to the arrangement of the book, one is not necessary, and though one can think of cases where one might be useful, what they say is largely true. E. S. ELLIS

CORRESPONDENCE

The Definition of Ethnological Terms. Cf. MAN, 1946, 77

82 SIR.—With reference to the mandate of the Committee on the Study and Definition of Ethnological Terminology appointed at the Copenhagen Congress, as discussed by Sir John L. Myres (MAN, 1946, 77), the question at once arises whether the need for clarification and agreement on basic theoretical and methodological terms is not more urgent than the translating task he suggests it undertake. That it would be useful to have such a polyglot vocabulary there can be no doubt, but there is considerable doubt that it should be given a priority over the clarification of broader terms whose use at the present time tends to promote fundamental misunderstanding.

Consider, for example, the word 'culture.' E. B. Tylor defined it quite satisfactorily, yet his successor, Professor Radcliffe-Brown, in his Presidential Address to the Royal Anthropological Institute, denies its value as a working concept, and urges it be given over in favour of the term 'society.' Here in the United States, where most anthropologists speak of 'cultural anthropology,' and divide it into ethnography and ethnology, those who hold for 'social anthropology' call ethnography by the term ethnology. To add to this confusion, still another use of 'social anthropology,' to mean the study of cultures in contact, has developed, sponsored by no less responsible an organization than the Smithsonian Institution.

Again, what we in the United States term acculturation you in England name culture-contact—that is, where the use of the word 'culture' is admitted. But in Latin America, the term *transculturación* has been devised, under the misapprehension that 'acculturation' connotes something taken over by an inferior group when in contact with a superior one, rather than the interchange of custom that usually occurs when peoples meet.

Innumerable other instances of terms that need definition, and on which agreement should be reached, come to mind. What is the difference between 'culture' and 'civilization'? Or, what do we mean by 'savage,' or by 'barbarian'? When is a group 'primitive'—what are the criteria that justify its appellation? Is a 'primitive' group a 'pre-

literate' one, or 'non-literate'; and how do all these differ from 'the folk'?

Obviously, the problem becomes more complicated as we cross linguistic boundaries; this is why I have here confined myself, with but one exception, to the usage of English-speaking anthropologists. I should like to express the hope that the Committee, prevented as it has been by the impossibility of communicating during the war from even beginning a discussion of a task that so bristles with difficulties, will when reorganized address itself to the resolution of problems such as I have sketched here. MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS
Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

Palaeolithic Nomenclature. Cf. MAN, 1947, 15

83 SIR.—With reference to my previous letter on this subject, I would like to make a correction of my remarks (paragraph 5) about the Fauresmith Culture.

I am now informed that implements of this culture were not first discovered by Peringuey but rather by Mr. Max Levisseur as far back as 1894 on the Fauresmith site. It was, as I said in my letter, Professor van Riet Lowe who first recognized the new cultural element represented by the specimens from this site, but the name was decided upon at a round-table conference in Pretoria in 1926. I am now informed that it was Mr. Goodwin who first suggested that the name to be used for the culture should be Fauresmith.

With regard to 'Tumbian' and other terminological questions raised in my letter, these matters were (as I had indicated they would be) fully discussed at the Pan-African Conference on Prehistory early in January. As a result the term 'Tumbian' has been abandoned in Africa and it has been agreed also to give up the use of the words 'Clacton' and 'Clactonian,' 'Levallois' and 'Levalloisian' as terms to describe *techniques* in the African Continent. In future these terms are only to be used to describe actual cultures where such cultures are known to exist, in pure form, in Africa.

Copies of the resolution embodying these decisions on terminology will be forwarded to you, Sir, in the near future, when I hope you will be able to give them full publicity.

Coryndon Museum, Nairobi

L. S. B. LEAKEY

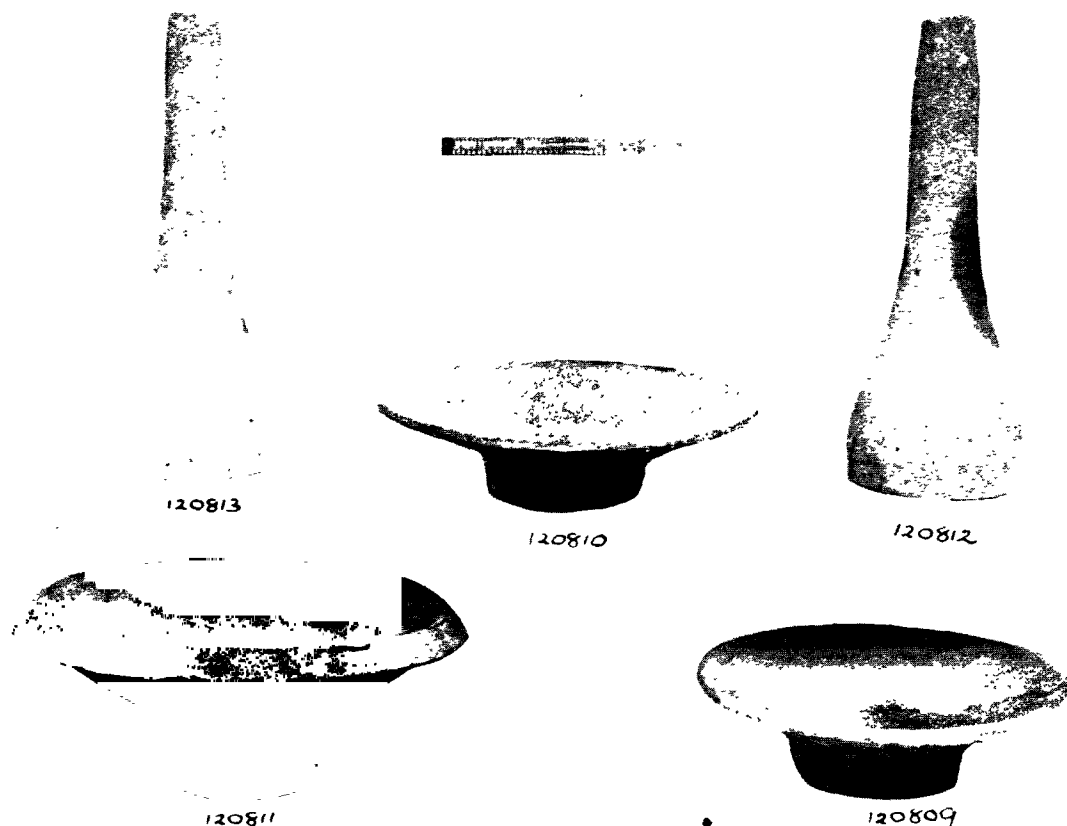


FIG. 1.—THREE POTTERY “LADUM” OR TURNABLES (WITH TWO POTTERY NOZZLES FOR A BLACKSMITH’S BELLOWS)

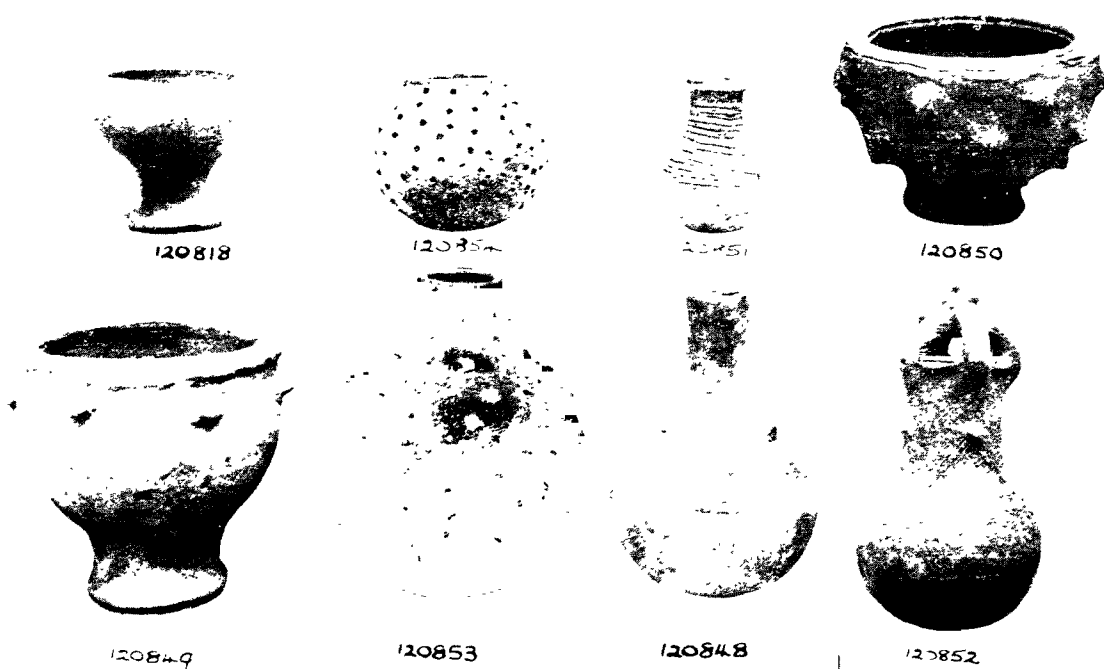


FIG. 2.—EXAMPLES OF FINISHED OGONI POTS

OGONI POTTERY

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

OGONI POTTERY. *A Note by M. D. W. Jeffreys, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. With Plate F and illustrations in the text*

Introductory

84 Little is known about the Ogoni tribe, who live on the western edge of the Calabar Province of Southern Nigeria. It consists of four groups, the Tai, Kana and Gokana, settled in the Calabar Province, and the Mbolli, situated in the contiguous Owerri Province and artificially separated from the other three groups.

On the east the tribal boundary is formed by the Imo river, which separates them from the Anang sub-tribe of the Ibibio; on the south the Andoni creeks separate them from the Andoni; and their western and northern boundaries march with those of the great Ibo tribe of the Owerri Province.

The tribal tradition is that they arrived from the west in canoes, like the Ijo, who claim to have come from Timbuctu.

The Pottery Industry

In the summer of 1930 the Nigerian Government called for a report on the Ogoni, with the object of creating



FIG. 3.—IBO WOMAN WALKING ROUND A POT AS SHE FASHIONS IT BY THE COIL METHOD

Copyright The Wellcome Historical Medical Museum

a native court for each of the four groups, and my enquiries provided me with an opportunity of studying the local method of making pottery.

The pottery industry, which is in the hands of the women of the tribe, is rapidly disappearing before the advance of the four-gallon petrol and kerosene tins, which are lighter to carry and unbreakable; and potters are now found only in certain villages.

In this brief account, the most interesting points are (i) the employment of a kind of rudimentary turntable, known as *ladum*, and (ii) the use by each potter of a distinctive individual craft mark, which appears on all her products.

The 'Ladum' or Turntable¹

The *ladum* is a saucer-shaped piece of pottery, on a pedestal about three inches in diameter and two

to obtain four specimens, which are now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford.

Pottery-making Technique

After the clay has been dug up and head-carried home, it is kneaded to the required consistency with an admixture of 'sand,' consisting of broken pottery ground up into dust. The potter then sits on a low stool and, employing the usual coil system, fashions the pot on the *ladum*, which she deftly keeps turning with her right foot, thus leaving both hands free.

The body of a large water-pot in its damp state cannot sustain the weight of the fashioned neck or mouth without sagging or crumpling, and the neck aperture is therefore left ragged and unfinished for a time, while the pot is put aside on its *ladum* to dry

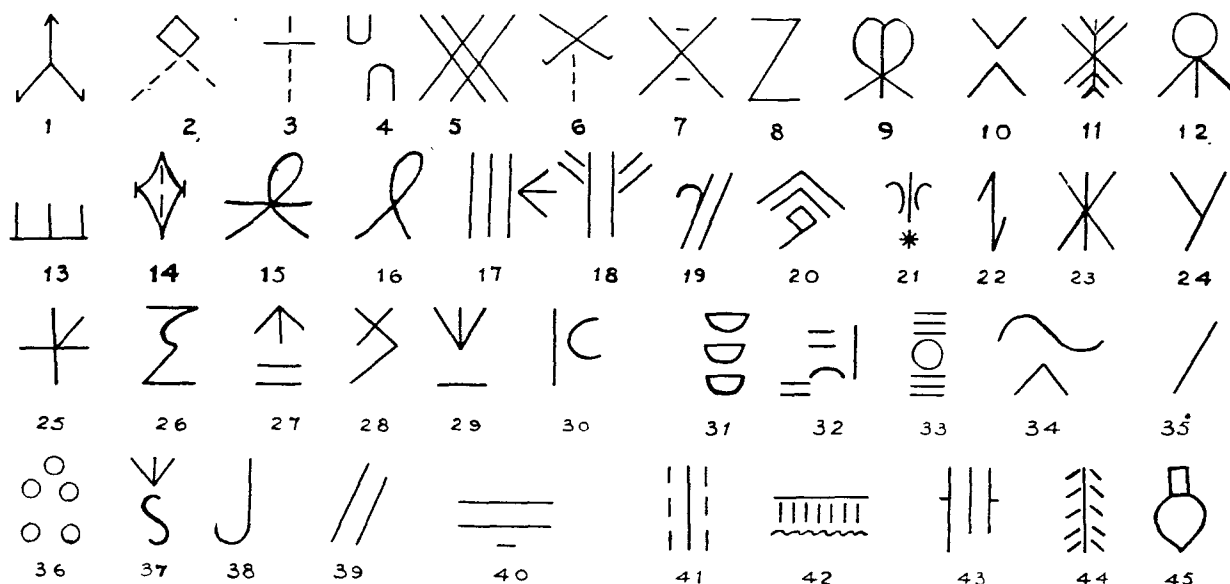


FIG. 4.—OGONI POTTERY TRADE MARKS FROM BEWA

inches high, and is specially made for the pottery industry. Three specimens are shown in Plate F, Fig. 1.

In the scale of development which culminates in the potter's wheel, the *ladum*, turned with the foot, may be regarded as an improvement on the broken potsherd used by the Ibibio women (which involves continuous use of the left hand to keep it turning), and still more on the Ibo method, found in the Aboh Division, in which the potter walks round and round the pot, as shown in Fig. 3.

A curious custom attaching to the *ladum* is that once one has been used in fashioning a pot it may not be sold. In one house I saw between thirty and forty, but was unable to buy any of them: only by arranging through their owner for another woman to make me some *ladum* as a special favour was I able

slowly in the shade to a consistency combining adequate strength with plasticity. To prevent excessive drying, a coco-yam leaf is fitted closely over the aperture—the rim of which then remains moist and soft, so that the neck can be easily moulded into it.

For firing, the pot is placed on the neck of a broken water-pot. Each potter has a large number of these, as well as of *ladum*, as part of her equipment. Firing is carried out in the usual manner, the pots being packed together under a pile of dried palm fronds, grass, and other light brushwood, which produce a quick heat without much weight.

Specimens of the finished pottery are shown in Plate F, Fig. 2.

The Craft Marks²

Each potter has her own special mark which distinguishes all the pots made by her. On one

market day in the large Ogoni town of Bewa, I took copies of all such marks that I could find on the pots displayed for sale; they are represented in Fig. 4.

¹ The earliest reference to the use of a contrivance approaching a potter's wheel in Africa (outside of Egypt) is J. G. Jackson's description, in *Shabeeny's Timbucto and Jackson's Barbary* (London, 1820), p. 53, of pottery-making among the Hausa of Northern Nigeria more than a century ago: 'They [the Hausa] make their pottery by a wheel, but do not glaze it. The wheel turns upon a pivot placed in a hole in the ground; at top and bottom are two pieces of wood like a tea-table: the lower, which is largest, is turned by the foot and the upper forms the vessel. When they make a large pot, they put on the top a larger piece: the pots are dried in the sun or burnt in the fire.'

Objects similar to the Ogoni *ladum* are illustrated in Wallis Budge, *The Dwellers on the Nile*, London, 1926, p. 152, where the foot is shown turning the tray; and Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. II, p. 192, shows the hand being used for the same purpose.—M. D. W. J.

Mr. H. J. Braunholtz of the Department of Ethnography, British Museum, adds the following instances of rudimentary forms of a potter's wheel which have been recorded from various parts of tropical Africa:

'On the lower Congo the contrivance is said to consist of two wooden boards, of which the upper is rotated on the lower by means of a pivot and socket (see *Musée du Congo, Notes analytiques*, Vol. 2, fasc. 1, *La Céramique*, Bruxelles, 1907, p. 41).

'A somewhat similar device has been reported from the Eile and Huber tribes (Somali) of the Rahanwin Division of

Italian Somaliland. It consists of two wooden discs articulated by means of a central boss on the lower disc fitting into a socket on the under surface of the upper disc: the latter is rotated slowly with the big toe of the right foot while it is steadied by the left foot. Specimens of this appliance (which is used only by men) are in the Department of Ethnography, British Museum, and in the Powell-Cotton Museum, Quex Park, Birchington (unpublished MS. report and photographs by Miss D. Powell-Cotton, 1934).

'A further example, from Asaba on the Niger, is quoted by Dr. H. S. Harrison in his *Horniman Museum Handbook, The Evolution of the Domestic Arts*, Part II, 1924, p. 42. In this case a shallow earthenware bowl rotates in a depression in a rectangular piece of wood.

'A shallow pottery dish is also employed as a 'turn-table' by the professional Baganda potters, who make it specially for this purpose: it rests on a ring, and is turned round from time to time by hand, but without any free rotation.

'In all these instances the rotation is slow and the impetus has to be constantly renewed; the effect thus falls far short of that produced by the rapid and prolonged spin of the true potter's wheel.—Ed.

² The only other instance I have found in Africa of a craft mark being placed upon pottery is that recorded from the Akamba tribes by Professor Lindblom (*The Akamba*, Upsala, 1920, p. 538): 'No ornamentation is ever found on [Akamba] pottery, but many of them have simple marks at the neck, which are carved there while the clay is soft. . . . They are a sort of trade mark which are placed there by the woman who makes the pot.' Lindblom's drawings (p. 539) of seven of these simple signs may be compared with those here illustrated.—M. D. W. J.

BABIN DEN: MIDWIVES' DAY IN BULGARIA. By Miss Olive Lodge

85 Ceremonial survivals of ancient fertility rituals often happen early in the year, as in the village of Konstantinovo, beside its lake on the slopes of the hills inland from Varna on the Black Sea, where, a few years before the war, I witnessed the special rites with which in Eastern Bulgaria on the twenty-first of January *Babin Den*, or Midwives' Day, is celebrated.

Early on that January morning I left Varna by the little train, alighting at the nearby station of Golema Yezero, or Big Lake. Across this lake, pale yellow in the morning light, with its reeds and bulrushes, its ruffled brown shadows and reflections, a local Turk rowed me in his small dark boat to the farther shore. Here, between winter fields, I followed a rough track, edged with faded buff grasses, its brown mud in places deep with ruts, till in about half an hour's time I reached the village of Konstantinovo.

It was a village of clustered houses, few main streets, and many side lanes. Tall trees and the more distant mountains gave depth and darkness to its rather flat ordinariness, while wind and dust and the frosty nip of January added somewhat to its individuality. But its main characteristic that day was the startling absence of men and the great number of women in the streets. I did occasionally observe a

furtive peasant hurrying along, chased by a woman in the full dark skirt of the district and wearing her *Babin Den* headdress. She tossed off his cap with her stick or beat him; and he, according to the ancient custom of that day, gave her forfeit of money before gaining back his cap or being allowed to go on his way. Most men, therefore, stayed indoors, to save their persons and their purses.

But many groups of women, mostly young mothers, were everywhere hastening along the streets and lanes to the houses of their own midwife (*baba*) who had attended them in childbirth, to bring greetings and the customary gifts of food and soap. Each woman brought *banitsa*, made of many layers of paper-thin pastry with chopped white sheep's-milk cheese between the layers: *pogutcha*, a flat, round, home-baked bread loaf with a star-like pattern dented in the top, carried in the dish in which it was baked; *chufteta*, or Hamburger steak; and a cake of soap.

Immediately on arrival each woman kissed the midwife's hand in greeting, sometimes touching it with her forehead as well as her lips. Next she presented her gifts, afterwards laying the food on the *sofra*, or low, round wooden Turkish table. In several of the houses I visited the women also washed and dried the midwife's hair; while one of the visitors or

the midwife herself threw the pieces of soap quickly into a corner, to symbolize and bring about the speedy ease of the birth of the next children. In one house, after the face-washing and soap ceremonies, the visiting women were beaten and the stick poked under their skirts. Always, before they left, the midwife gave each woman a sprig of sweet basil (*Osimum basilicum* L.).

As soon as these preliminary ceremonies were ended the midwife-hostess and her guests sat on low stools round the *sofra*, spread with its special fare. At once the midwife spoke the ritual words:

The bride's secret part is glad when it approaches the bridegroom's phallus!¹

We usually ate everything with our fingers; and the meal, with its accompanying fertility toasts at the *rakiya* (plum brandy) and wine stages, was made to last till about 3 p.m. Sometimes the wine was drunk out of a common bowl, sometimes out of glasses.

Nearly all the women wore the traditional ornaments of the day—a tall tuft of gilded box twigs stuck at the back of their head-scarf, usually dark, but made brighter by the intertwining of the red berries of a kind of hawthorn, called in Bulgarian *gluginka*, the white 'flowers' of popped maize, and posies of sweet basil and wild purple sea-lavender (*Statice gmelino* Wild.). Some of the women also adorned themselves with necklaces of these same red berries and popped maize 'flowers.' Instead of head-scarves a few women wore a pointed cone about twenty-one inches high, reminiscent of a dunce's cap, with two or three long leek leaves stuck in it like feathers half-way down, and sometimes also twined around with red berries and white maize 'flowers.' One or two had threaded for themselves necklaces of dark red paprikas, *chushki*, as they are called in Bulgarian villages; others had wound chains of black or yellow melon and pumpkin seeds round their necks: others again had added strings of paper money (*pari*) to their adornments; while criss-cross patterns of red berries and white maize 'flowers' made dots and dashes of colour on certain sombre dresses.

At intervals during the festivities, particularly during the mid-day meal, songs of fertility and mating were sung, often accompanied by *horodancing*,² and appropriately illustrated by the phallic leeks and shuttles of the women.

Brother John, O Brother John!
Slowly lead the *horos*!
Because your staff is swinging,
And my puff is jumping as we dance!

¹ In Bulgarian: Nevesi putka vesela blizo do mudi mazhovi!

² The *horos*, the national dance of Bulgaria, like those of the other Balkan countries, is danced, with a great variety of steps, in an open circle with the leader at one end.

Brother John, O Brother John!
Put your staff into my puff
Though the village dies of envy!³

Babin Den is particularly a women's festival; but in one house the husband was allowed to stay. I cannot now remember whether this happened in the house of an ordinary midwife or in that of the chief midwife. In any case, it was understood by everyone that he was specially privileged or ransomed; he was also very useful, because he fetched wine and brought in wood for the stove; otherwise he sat as an onlooker in a far corner. Once, however, a curious but non-privileged male strayed in. He was immediately set upon by the enraged women, beaten with leeks and sticks, his cap and handkerchief taken from him; these he had to redeem by the customary money payments before winning escape for himself. The women told me this always happens to any foolhardy or curious male who attempts to mingle with these intimate and feminine rites. The money, however, helps to buy wine for the feast.

About three o'clock in the afternoon each midwife collected her mothers and led them through the village streets, now crowded with similar groups of midwives and mothers, to the house of the principal midwife. All of them converged thither in a kind of riotous procession of fertility for the culmination of the day's ceremonial excitement.

On arrival at her house, after the traditional *Babin Den* greetings had been exchanged, similar, though perhaps more sedate, versions of the food and soap ceremonial followed. But this time, I think, only the midwives presented the women's gifts or threw the soap, although afterwards many of the women busied themselves setting out the food on long trestle tables in all the rooms. The throng of guests was so great, however, that long lengths of striped hand-woven cotton material (*platno*) had to be laid along the garden paths, so that everyone could find a place. All this time some of the other women had been sitting or standing about gossiping, while others sang fertility songs and still others made phallic play with their leeks and shuttles.

The women arranged the various dishes at intervals on the indoor tables and on the out-of-door *platno*, allowing about six people to a dish. The guests sat

³ Baine le Bato Ivane
Poleko vodi horoto!
Tebi ti se klate dervoto,
Mene mi se drusa runoto!

Baine le Bato Ivane!
Ya mi go turna vf runoto
Ako shtega se prene seloto!

In Bulgarian villages the elder boys in a family are called *Baine* or *Bato*, meaning 'brother,' by their own younger brothers and sisters as well as by the neighbours' younger children.

on benches along both sides of the tables and on rugs beside the cotton strips on the paths; I think each group sat with its own midwife for this meal. Here also appropriate toasts were drunk with the *rakiya* and the wine, and fertility songs chanted, while a few women added variety and emphasized the underlying motive of the festival by wandering about 'fertilizing' the guests with their leeks. One old woman sang:

Good morning, kinsfolk, get ready for a wedding!
I've come to tell you that your daughter and our son
Want to marry, though still so young and ignorant—
She like a little girl that wets her drawers,
He like a little boy that dirties his trousers! ⁴

As soon, however, as most of the feasting had ended a great many women left their places and started dancing the *horo*, sometimes singing as they danced. Others, particularly the youngest brides, dressed up in men's clothes and went about making broad jokes as they beat or poked their guests with their fertilizing leeks.

About this time general *horo*-dancing began. At first each midwife's group danced its own *horo*, usually with the midwife as *horo* leader. Later, all these separate *horos* amalgamated into one long *horo*, led, if I recollect aright, by the chief midwife herself. The dancers started by meandering into all the rooms in the cottage; then they wandered along the garden paths, now cleared of the remnants of the feast; and finally they spread out in continuous twisting circles or in a long chain that zig-zagged over the fields and orchards to bring prosperity and increase. These dances, like the earlier ceremonies in the midwives' houses, began separately and, like them also, ended united in a single festal dance—a symbol, perhaps, of the union for fertility.

The ritual climax was reached, though nowadays partly in burlesque, when two of the older women dressed themselves as bride and bridegroom, with two others to represent their attendant guardians, the *kum* and *kuma*, who held sticks instead of candles.⁵

⁴ Dobro outro, svate!
Doidoh da ti kazha,
Da dagete vasheta pikla
Za nashiya drislyu!

I have had to make this song longer in translation, to get the exact meaning, because we have no single English word for *svate* (the special kinsfolk who, in Bulgarian villages, go to ask for the hand of the maiden in marriage, nor for *pikla* and *drislyu* (the untrained girl and boy).

⁵ In Orthodox marriages the bride and bridegroom are attended by a man, called the *kum*, and a woman, called the *kuma*, who stand behind them in church holding lighted candles. They are important people in the lives of the wedded

All of them were wearing the local national costumes, the 'bride' dressed in the full dark skirt, blouse, and black homespun jacket, with strings of pointed scarlet and yellow paprikas round her neck and a shuttle in her hand, while the 'bridegroom' wore the ordinary brown homespun trousers, a sheepskin coat over 'his' artificial hump, and on 'his' head the usual *kalpek*, a rather high, black, woolly lambskin cap.

They danced the *horo* in and out of all the rooms in the house, into the garden, fields, and orchards, and along the nearby paths and cart-tracks, fertilizing as they went. Once or twice I saw them stop an ox-cart and a horse-drawn cart. The 'bridegroom' took out the yoke-pin, and pushed in the shuttle; afterwards the 'bride' put them together again. Numbers of other women followed, singly, in pairs, or several together, dancing the *horo*, singing fertility songs, and making phallic play with their leeks and shuttles. This was one refrain they chanted:

Dilin, dilin, the reed-pipe plays!⁶
With her lover's organ the maiden plays!

At the end of their fertilizing journey, 'bride' and 'bridegroom' returned to the house of the head midwife to continue their fertility and mating play. A bride-bed of rugs was arranged for them on the ground in the garden and here they acted the various stages of copulation. Other pairs of women disappeared with their leeks or shuttles for the same purpose. Later there were more feasting, more acts of fertilization, more songs and dances in the houses, in the fields and streets and lanes of Konstantinovo; and in the end many of the women went home drunk to bed.

Unfortunately I had to leave before the end in order to cross the lake in time to catch the last train back to Varna. Here also I came in for some of the concluding *Babin Den* festivities of the townswomen. These, so Bulgars have informed me, are nowadays considerably modified and simplified, except for the feasting and dancing. More drinking seems to occur in towns, probably because in towns more men are abroad in the streets, on business or pleasure, than in villages, where the hold of the tradition is stronger; and they are subject to the same forfeits of money or wine as in the country.

pair, and are godparents to the children, who may not marry without their sanction or approval; they automatically come within the forbidden degrees of kinship, etc.

⁶ Dilin, dilin, svirehitsu!
Moma sviri s pishehitsu!

It is possible that these two lines formed part of a longer song, the rest of which I did not record.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

An Approach to the Study of Prejudice. *Summary of a Communication read to the Institute by Dr. Marie Jahoda. 7 January, 1947*

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The Scientific Department of the American Jewish Committee in New York has undertaken over the last two years a series of studies of prejudice, especially of anti-Semitism, using a psychological approach.

This approach needs a word of justification in view of the fact that both colour prejudice and anti-Semitism are, in their present form, essentially determined by historical, social, political, and economic factors. In the American culture, prejudice is neither imposed nor outlawed; although they all live under the same external conditions, some people adhere to an ideology of prejudice, while others do not. Apparently there is a factor of individual selectivity at work here, and the function of the psychological approach is to investigate this factor rather than the general causes of prejudice.

The psychological factor in prejudice can be broken down into two misleadingly simple questions: (1) Who, in terms of his other personality characteristics, is the prejudiced person? (2) Why, in terms of genetic and dynamic factors of his personality, is he prejudiced?

The first of these questions was the central problem of an investigation which the Scientific Department undertook in co-operation with the University of California. A simple direct questionnaire was used to sort persons with a high score on openly admitted anti-Semitism from those with a very low score. The original groups, from which the upper and the lower quartile were selected for further investigation, each represented some well defined unit in the U.S. (subjects were—college students, nurses, civil servants, managers of industry, inmates of a neurotic ward of a hospital, and inmates of a prison).

Each group was then subjected to a variety of research techniques, including the Rohrschach, the Thematic Apperception Test, clinical interviews, and an indirect questionnaire which contained forty statements on a variety of subjects, covering the following fields: ethnocentricity, politico-economic ideologies, and what for want of a better word have been called fascist character items. It was found that persons with a high anti-Semitism score tended to have the following characteristics in the fields indicated. Their ethnocentricity was very outspoken. They were inclined towards a socio-political outlook that could be classified as pseudo-conservatism, to distinguish it from a genuine conservatism, which is based on proud identification with achievements in the past and present; their outlook was not the result of strength, but of weakness, anxiety, and insecurity in their over-emphasized belief in the *status quo*. In respect of character trends, these individuals appeared as well adjusted on the surface, neat and tidy in their appearance; conventional and rigid in their

attitudes; also aggressive, cynical about human relations, superstitious, and full of destructive urges. The characteristics in all fields showed positive correlations with anti-Semitism of from +.43 to +.68.

To answer the 'why' question of anti-Semitism the Department undertook a study in co-operation with about thirty accredited psychotherapists in New York. These psychotherapists provided detailed case histories of those of their patients who in the course of treatment had manifested some anti-Semitism. The methodological limits of this study are numerous. Because of the selection of the material no quantitative interpretation can, of course, be ventured. Insight gained from these cases refers to generally disturbed persons, most of whom belong to an upper income group. The material was, further, collected not at first hand but as transmitted by the psychotherapist: the possibility of a bias having been introduced by memory deficiency of the therapists as well as by their particular school of thought in psychiatry cannot be excluded. However, the unique advantages of this method seem more than to compensate for these shortcomings: no other technique in the social sciences could produce such an intimate and comprehensive picture of all facets of a personality; no other technique provides data so suitable for a dynamic rather than a static interpretation and gives at the same time intra-psychic as well as external events in the life history.

In contrast to some previous studies, this investigation shows that anti-Semitism is not the concomitant of any one type of personality structure or of any one type of personality disorder. While it is manifested in a wide range of personality structures, it seems to be accompanied by certain emotional dispositions of a general nature which cut across the whole gamut of personality categories. The most important of these emotional dispositions are a pervasive anxiety, a confused idea about one's own identity, and an intense anticipatory fear of being injured by a hostile world. Against these tendencies with their self-destructing implications the individual mobilizes a number of defence mechanisms. These are the decisive processes driving an individual to adopt an anti-Semitic ideology. This is facilitated by the historically evolved cultural stereotype, multi-coloured and inconsistent, of the Jew, which depicts him as both capitalist and communist, both clannish and an intruder into other cultures, both powerful and weak, both given to high spiritual values and low and greedy. This image forms a convenient projection screen for the great variety of modern man's inner conflicts. Therefore the extent of anti-Semitism in a community is an indication of the degree to which its mental balance is disturbed. Anti-Semitism is not a solution but merely a temporary escape from a conflict that will ultimately destroy its bearer.

SHORTER NOTES

Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, January 1947

87

The information which follows has been received from Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, Organizing Secretary of the first session of the Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, held at Nairobi in January.

The following Rules and Constitution were adopted by the Congress:

The Delegates to this Congress are of the opinion that it

is imperative that the collaboration in the fields of prehistory, Tertiary and Quaternary geology and palaeontology, which has been initiated in this first Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, held in Nairobi in January 1947, should be permanently established.

The Congress therefore resolves that this aim be achieved by the setting-up of the machinery set out below:

(1) The Pan-African Congress on Prehistory shall meet every four years or at such other interval as circumstances

shall dictate. (2) The office-bearers elected at any meeting shall hold office until the succeeding meeting. (3) The Organizing Secretary of any particular meeting shall act as General Secretary during the interval between one Congress and the next. (4) It shall be left to the authorities of the inviting country to appoint, in advance, the Organizing Secretary for the Congress to be held in their territory. (5) The office-bearers to be appointed by the Congress shall consist of a President, one or more Vice-Presidents and three Chairmen (with necessary Vice-Chairmen) of the following sections: (a) Prehistoric Archaeology. (b) Geology, General Palaeontology and Climatology. (c) Human Palaeontology; and any other sections deemed necessary. The Organizing Secretary shall be an *ex officio* member of the General Committee, which shall consist of the President, the Vice-President or Vice-Presidents and the Chairmen of the several sections. (6) Such Sub-Committees as may be deemed necessary shall be nominated by the General Committee and the names submitted to the Congress for approval. (7) One or more Standing Sub-Committees on various subjects may be appointed to hold office from one Congress until the next. (8) The General Committee shall deal with all recommendations and resolutions passed to them by individual members of the Congress, by Sub-Committees or by resolutions from the General Sessions and shall present such recommendations and resolutions to the Congress in Plenary Session for ratification. (9) The Proceedings of the Congress shall be published as soon as possible after the Congress is over in such detail as financial circumstances shall allow.

Terminology

The following recommendations of the Sub-Committee on Prehistoric Archaeology were adopted as resolutions of the Congress:

1. That all terms which have hitherto been used in Africa to describe the major divisions of the cultural succession of the Old Palaeolithic or earlier Stone Age be discontinued, and that the term 'Chelles-Acheul' be substituted, with the appropriate use of local regional terms. The new term excludes advanced or localized derivatives as, for example, the Fauresmith and the Sangoan.

2. That the use of the word 'Clacton' as a term to describe a technical process of manufacture be discontinued in Africa, and that the expression 'block-on-block' be substituted.

3. That the word 'Levallois' as a term to describe a technical process of manufacture be discontinued in Africa and that the expression 'faceted-platform technique' be substituted, with any such necessary additions as 'side, end, corner, diagonal, etc.', as may be required.

4. In reference to the use of a term covering what has hitherto been described by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey in his 'Stone-Age Cultures of Kenya Colony' and subsequent papers under the name of 'Kenya Aurignacian,' the majority of the Sub-Committee (Professors van Riet Lowe and Huzayyin dissenting) recommends that, in view of the fact that microlithic elements occur throughout the Capsian of North Africa, and in spite of our present localized knowledge of the Capsian, the words 'Kenya Capsian' be substituted directly.

5. In consideration of the agreement reached at the Plenary Session of the Congress between Dr. Leakey and Dr. F. Cabu, it is agreed to recommend that the term 'Sangoan' be used as far as, and including, that portion of

the Tumbian described by Oswald Menghin to which Messrs. Collette and Cabu have applied the terms 'Djokocian' and 'Kalinian' in the Congo basin. It is similarly agreed that the term 'Sangoan' be used as far as, and including, the Middle Tumbian as described in Dr. Leakey's and Archdeacon Owen's paper of March, 1945. It is further recommended that the term 'Kenya Lupembian' be substituted for 'Upper Tumbian of Kenya.'

6. In view of the substitution in paragraph 1 above, it has been found necessary to recommend that the term 'pre-Chelles-Acheul' be used in preference to 'African pre-Chellean,' 'pre-Palaeolithic,' etc.

7. That, while retaining the term 'pre-Chelles-Acheul' as a general term, the terms 'Oldowan' and 'Kafuan' be employed to describe respectively the later and earlier stages of the pre-Chelles-Acheul culture which have already been defined under those names and that suitable regional qualifications be added.

8. That in respect to cultural terms it shall not be necessary to employ a regional term in the type area.

9. (a) That a Permanent Consultative Committee on African Terminology be established.

(b) That this Committee be made up of five representatives, one from each of the following regions: North-East Africa, North-West Africa and the Sahara, West-Central Africa, East Africa, and South Africa.

(c) That all workers in African prehistory be invited to submit any fundamental alterations or additions prior to publication, together with an adequate précis and illustrations, to this Consultative Committee.

10. That the following Consultative Committee be appointed:

North-East Africa:	Prof. Mustafa Amer Bey.
North-West Africa	
and the Sahara:	Dr. A. Ruhlmann.
West-Central Africa:	Dr. F. Cabu.
East Africa:	Dr. L. S. B. Leakey.
South Africa:	Prof. C. van Riet Lowe.

The above resolutions on terminology are signed by the Abbé Henri Breuil, President, and Dr. R. Broom, Vice-President of the Congress.

Anthropological Society of Bombay

88 This society has established a new series of its *Journal*, under the editorship of Professor K. T. Merchant, after six years' intermission since Vol. XV, 7, issued in 1940. It contains papers by Dr. G. S. Ghurye, 'Some Kinship Usages in Indo-Aryan Literature'; Dr. G. M. Kurulkar, 'Demons of Hindu Mythology with Special Reference to their Body Forms'; K. A. Padhye, 'Guru-Cult in India,' and Dr. V. R. Khanolkar, 'The Racial Distribution of the Blood-Groups.' These are only a selection from the numerous papers presented to the society during the war years, and recorded on the cover. The society is indebted to the N. M. Wadin Charities for a grant in aid of publication. The *Journal* is issued by the New Book Company, 188-190, Hornby Road, Bombay; and the address of the Editor is 136, Apollo Street, Fort. J. L. MYRES

REVIEWS

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Configurations of Culture Growth. By A. L. Kroeber. University of California Press, 1944. Pp. 882. Price \$7.50

This is an original approach to the study of human achievement. How far it is successful must be estimated by the reader; and opinions are likely to differ. What is

attempted is, with great learning and judgment, to 'peg down' the principal culminations of philosophy, science, philology, sculpture, painting, drama, literature, and music on a world-wide chronological chart, and to ask the question, under what circumstances have they respectively occurred when and where they did. On a conspectus of these culminations,

and the barren intervals which separate them, is based a review of the 'growth of nations,' and of the relations between secular achievements and religious movements, and between central, peripheral, insular, and 'retarded' growths.

The first question is obviously whether such movements are fortuitous or conform to some kind of order or 'natural law.' Modern genetics indicate that genius, like fish spawn, is being created at random, all the time; it is only under congenial conditions that exceptional ability finds its opportunity. But such opportunity is likely to stimulate more than one individual genius into productive activity. Consequently there are 'constellations' of genius, of various extents and durations. What these favourable conditions are is more difficult to determine. Geographical, economic, and strictly historical factors are certainly concerned; but Dr. Kroeber leaves a wide field open for human individual initiative. A special case is the transmission of a cultural achievement from one region or régime to another: what is popularly known as 'diffusion,' of which there are some remarkable instances.

The occurrence of a specific constellation, or culmination of an art, may be illustrated by the rise and fall of the historical importance of countries. Take the Mediterranean islands. Crete had one brilliant and very early 'florescence,' the Minoan Bronze Age; thereafter the resources and human initiative of the island were outclassed by neighbouring Greece and the Anatolian states. Cyprus had a brief period of significance in the fourth century B.C., and another in the fourteenth-sixteenth A.D., but at other times was a backwater. Sicily, greater in natural endowment, more variously populated from elsewhere, and more spaciouly situated, had a Hellenic culture of great brilliance from 700 B.C. to 200 B.C., but then was overmastered in the rivalry between Carthage and Rome; to emerge under the Norman kings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., only to founder again under the combined attacks of the Papacy, the Angevin Kings, and the Byzantine Empire. Instances of this kind are available to test the presentation offered by Dr. Kroeber of the 'growth of nations' as a resultant of the specific 'florescences' which he has analysed and compared.

It would have helped towards appreciation of his argument if he had superposed the 'culture patterns' which he has analysed in the manner outlined forty years ago by Flinders Petrie in his *Revolutions of Civilization*, but with the copious information which is collected here.

Some of the 'configurations' are very curious. A simple instance is that for Philology, which is rightly treated separately from Literature, Science, or Philosophy. Even here, however, the original relation of Greek and Indian

philology is not quite clear. The configuration for Drama—considered separately from Literature—has also some curious features. Medicine is rightly included in Science.

Dr. Kroeber is wisely reticent about culture patterns in general, of which as he says we still know very little, though increasingly aware of them. He looks forward to the establishment of a 'culture psychology,' and has contributed materially to it in this book.

It is impossible to do justice in a review to the wealth of learning here marshalled and analysed; still less to the many observations on all aspects of human nature which are suggested by his wide experience. If his conclusions seem hesitant, it is from superabundant caution and the effort to maintain a strictly scientific outlook. Quite apart from its value as a fresh approach to the study of cultures, it will be welcome as an example of scientific method generally, and as a characteristic expression of the author's genial and stimulating personality.

JOHN L. MYRES

The German People: A Social Portrait to 1914. By Robert H. Lowie. New York and Toronto, Farrar and Rinehart, 1945. Pp. vii, 143. Maps and Figures. Price not stated

This most thoughtful book deserves the widest circulation and study. Using Sombart carefully, the author has built up a picture which is remarkably free from prejudice concerning the rise of nationalism and its degeneration through the weakness of the social democracy and the rise to power of the Nazis. His account of the Jews in Germany shows the difficulties on both sides which have hindered their emergence from the status of 'hyphenated citizens.'

Some students of German matters wonder whether the rise of nationalism following at a long distance similar movements in France and England was the only possible line of development and whether, had there been less bitterness between Romanist and Lutheran, it might not have been possible to lead Europe to better things by modifying the mediæval empire into a truly federal system, without undue preponderance of German or other peoples. The current of liberal thought in philosophical matters illustrated by Lessing, Kant, and many later thinkers is strikingly contrasted in this book with the development in England, where, though we had our Hume and Gibbon, Samuel Johnson remained more typical and generally known. It might have been well in this connexion to mention the special influence of John Wesley and of the many alternative orthodoxies current in Britain, none of them able to exercise the very dominant influence that Luther's followers exerted in Germany. H. J. FLEURE

ASIA

Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy. By Raymond Firth. *International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1946. Pp. xii, 354. Maps and plates. Price 25s.

In his last book before the outbreak of war (*Primitive Polynesian Economy*, 1939), Professor Firth examined the basic concepts of western economic theory against the background of economic activities in the isolated and very primitive island of Tikopia. Although the field covered by the present volume is on an altogether more sophisticated plane, the underlying theoretical argument is in many ways a development from and a supplement to the earlier work. Any economist who may have sought to dismiss the peculiarities of Tikopia as aberrant, on the grounds that no normal society would reckon its values in bark-cloth and sinnet cord, will find that many very similar peculiarities occur in the Kelantan village of Perupok, even though the inhabitants of the latter make all their calculations in dollars and cents.

As a demonstration of the possibilities of modern field-work method the present work can only be described as masterly. The earlier Tikopia study was based on field work of the general all-embracing kind favoured by Malinowski; in the field, economics had been only one aspect of a many-sided picture, and in consequence a good deal of the quantitative data essential if a point of economic theory is to be driven home was lacking. In the Malayan study, both the field and the subject of special study (fishing) were selected

with a view to analysis in economic terms, and the result is most convincing. Every point of theory is backed by a wealth of documentary evidence which is in nearly every instance presented in quantitative terms. Too often, in the past, anthropologists, purporting to write on 'Primitive Economics,' have based their generalizations upon single isolated instances and presented their material in such a way that it is quite impossible for the reader to assess whether the facts cited are in any way typical; in Firth's book, too, generalizations are made on the basis of inadequate data—as is quite unavoidable in the woeful state of large-scale official statistics—but the nature of the evidence and the range of observed variation is in every case clearly stated. The anthropologist has perhaps not yet evolved a technique of observation which would satisfy the modern statistician's concept of a 'random sample' of population, but in this respect Firth seems to me to be well ahead of most of his contemporaries. All those who wish to see social anthropology rated as a science need to consider with care the methodological implications of this book.

The core of the book (Chapters III to X) consists of a detailed study of the economic organization of the Malay fishing village of Perupok in Kelantan in 1939-1940. Chapters I and II are designed to place this specialized field in its general Oriental setting. This seems to me a trifle unnecessary and leads to the use of such weak all-embracing terms as 'Far Eastern Societies,' 'Oriental fishing communities,'

'Malayo-Indonesian fishing,' etc. The study of Perupok is of value in itself, as a demonstration of the functioning of a micro-economy, and does not need to be justified by any such dubious statement as that 'Fish . . . is the normal accompaniment to rice in the peasant meal of most Far Eastern countries.' I feel it might have been better if the core of the book had been left to stand on its own. Whether Perupok is typical or atypical seems to me irrelevant at this stage. Chapters V to VIII on Management of Capital, Credit, Marketing, and Distribution of Earnings are particularly brilliant. In a fishing community these elements of the economic process can be studied with particular clarity because the proportion of wealth invested in capital equipment is high, and the perishable nature of the product speeds up the distributive process to such an extent that a single observer can watch the whole cycle of operations. Appendix I ('A Note on Problems and Technique . . .') not only explains the technique adopted, but justifies these methods and indicates lines of further possible development: it should be of value to all interested in modern field-work method.

While *Primitive Polynesian Economy* was addressed primarily to the specialist in the fields of economics and anthropology, most of what may be termed the 'overt content' of the present work will be of interest to specialists on Malaya, especially those with administrative responsibility. In this review, however, I have approached the book as one with only a very casual knowledge of the Malayan field and have therefore stressed the important theoretical implications that underlie the descriptive account. I am not suggesting that all studies by social anthropologists should necessarily be framed in quantitative terms: but 'Primitive Economics' must certainly become quantitative if it is to command serious attention from workers in other fields. This book is an encouraging indication of what can be done in the direction of refining the quality of data in the field of Primitive and Peasant Economics.

A further work analysing the economics of agriculture in the same Kelantan area is promised, and it is to be hoped that it will not be too long delayed. E. R. LEACH

Caste in India: Its Nature, Function, and Origins. By J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., M.A., D.Sc. Cambridge University Press, 1946. Pp. viii, 279, 1 map. Price 18s.

92 Although Professor Hutton presents this volume as an outline to which he may refer students, with an apology for adding to the reputed five thousand works on the subject, a much wider public will be in his debt for placing on accessible record not only an up-to-date and authoritative survey of the subject and its literature, but his own mature reflections on a complex problem, of which perhaps only an ex-Census Commissioner for India, after stepping back from the variegated scene, can take a comprehensive all-India view. Anthropologists will regret that the foundation of this present work, namely the author's own Report on the Census of India, 1931, with its twenty-seven attendant reports from the Provinces and States, may be the last of a notable series in which members of the Indian Civil Service and others have been able to make substantial contribution to anthropological research; for the Census of 1941 had to be restricted in scope. Much, however, may now be expected from the recently created Anthropological Survey.

The book has three main parts: 'The Background,' in which a rapid survey is made of representative castes throughout India; 'Caste,' its structure, strictures, sanctions, and functions; and 'Origins,' where the author reviews the many varying theories, and gives his own conclusions. This material, supplemented by a select bibliography of nine pages, a glossary of twenty, a map, and two appendices, covers the subject exhaustively. For the benefit of those unacquainted with India, the three chapters of 'The Background,' in which avowedly not more than one in ten of the castes could find place as examples of their 'almost incredible diversity,' would be brought into sharper focus by a sample cross-section of the castes of a district, with their numerical proportions and their places in the social and economic fabric. The two valuable appendices contain material, reproduced from the author's Report on the Census of 1931, on 'The

position of the exterior castes,' and on 'Hinduism in its relation to primitive religions in India.' The latter has particular relevance to a motif recurring throughout.

This motif is that the taboo on food and drink is 'probably the keystone of the whole caste system.' In the author's view, sufficient importance has not been attached to 'that complex of beliefs in *mana*, taboo, and magic which surrounds the primitive philosophy of soul stuff or life matter.' Dr. Hutton, with his long acquaintance, both as administrator and anthropologist, with the tribes of the north-east frontier of India, was peculiarly fitted to probe such origins, and early in his list of fifteen factors contributing to the emergence and development of caste come: 'Primitive ideas about the power of food to transmit qualities,' 'Similar ideas of totemism, taboo, *mana*, and soul stuff,' and 'Ideas of pollution, ablution, purification, and ceremonial purity.' Many with personal experience of India could, indeed, testify that the fear of pollution is the main persistent force holding the caste system together under the disintegrating forces of modern society; and would agree that the ultimate basis of caste must lie deep down there. South India, however, is the bottom of that 'deep net into which various races and peoples of Asia have drifted and been caught,' and caste is there the strongest: it may be that, in the course of the prehistoric survey, now going forward in the South, of the megalithic and urn-burial cultures, further valuable material bearing on this complex of beliefs will be won.

It has been claimed for the caste system in its resistance to fundamental change that it is 'entirely independent of any form of political government.' While this may be true of its structure, sociologists will watch with interest its future under a purely Indian government embarking on policies involving radical social reform. A Congress 'Independence Day' pledge runs: 'We know that the distinction between Caste Hindus and Harijans (*i.e.* exterior castes) must be abolished'; while a Brahmin political leader declares: 'We want inter-marriage to make the people biologically one.'

THEODORE TASKER

Spinning Tools and Spinning Methods in Asia. By G. Montell. *Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin*, Publication 15, Appendix, pp. 109-127.

93 To his own and other Swedish scholars' many contributions to Inner Asian material-culture studies, Dr. Gösta Montell has added a notable account of the present state of our knowledge of spinning techniques among the Mongols, which, in spite of its small compass of 19 quarto pages, may well be treated by students as a convenient source book for Asia generally, at least until a great deal more has been done to fill the serious gaps to which he rightly draws attention. While his own observations in Inner Mongolia, together with descriptions of specimens from that and neighbouring areas in the Swedish museums, form the core of the paper, parallels are quoted copiously from other parts of Asia, and also, where appropriate, from Europe and America. The paper is finely illustrated with four plates and thirteen text-figures, and there is a useful bibliography.

It might be thought that this country, to which the textile industries are of such importance, would have produced far more work in this field of anthropological study than it in fact has. Yet Ling Roth's classic of thirty years ago—*Studies of Primitive Looms*—is far from being superseded, and Haddon and Start's more recent work on Iban fabrics stands practically alone among British works as an intensive study of textile technique in a single culture; spinning, moreover, is in even worse case than weaving. Scientific studies of primitive and other techniques would assuredly have much interest, both academic and practical, for many Lancashire industrialists and technicians, and it is to be hoped that anthropologists will seek to awaken that interest at the present time of change and experiment in the cotton industry, perhaps through some co-operative venture under the auspices of the Royal Anthropological Institute. In doing so, they would certainly take account of much fine work already carried out in Sweden.

W. B. FAGG

AFRICA

The Backgrounds of African Art. By Melville J. Herskovits. **94** *Three Lectures given on the Cooke-Daniels Lecture Foundation in conjunction with an exhibition of African Art assembled by the Denver Art Museum, January and February, 1945. Pp. 64, Map, Plates, Bibliography*
The Golden Age of West African Civilization. By Dr. R. E. G. Armattoe. *Published for the Lomeshie Research Centre for Anthropology and Race Biology. Londonderry, 1946. Paper covers. Pp. 96, Plates xiv, Bibliography. Price 8s. 6d.*

African art, one may say with little exaggeration, has in this country not yet attained to the status of a subject of serious study. It is true that good specimens are eagerly bought by collectors, as current auction prices amply testify; but Negro sculpture has made no impact upon the public at large—though one of its distinguished derivatives was recently 'the world's greatest shocker' in an Oxford Street sideshow—and scarcely any even upon that 'educated' public which has recently shown a good deal of interest in other forms of art. The largely uncritical boom which swept the continent for so many years had at least the merit of creating a wide public interest there, which in turn, no doubt, made possible the remarkable developments of the last ten or fifteen years in France, Belgium, and elsewhere: America felt the repercussions, but this country remained largely unscathed. Perhaps in the end we may seem to have gained something by coming more gradually and circumspectly to a just appreciation of African art: but as yet there is no cause for self-congratulation.

For the existing neglect, anthropologists must accept some responsibility. It is true that there have been great exceptions—Read and Dalton for Benin, Torday and Joyce for the Congo, Rattray for Ashanti—who laid a solid foundation of ethnological fact for study of the arts of their respective areas: but for the most part, and especially of more recent years, our anthropologists have preferred, or perhaps have been compelled by the exigencies of colonial policy, to adopt an ascetically practical, not to say pragmatic, attitude towards native cultures and to eschew anything so intangibly related to government as research into indigenous art forms. Yet surely this field, where technology and social anthropology can and should meet in close union, is one of those in which the underlying character of a culture can be most profoundly studied and understood—and with great ultimate benefit to administration. Little encouragement is at present given to our colonial administrators to throw off that lamentable philistinism which is the attitude of a majority of them towards traditional native art, and which, it is to be feared, communicates itself to the natives themselves, helping to confirm the growing apathy and disdain with which they regard the masterpieces of their past. We should be all the more grateful to those few who, like Mr. K. C. Murray, the Surveyor of Antiquities in Nigeria, and Mr. E. H. Duckworth, the editor of *Nigeria*, not only appreciate native art at its true worth but selflessly devote themselves to the task of preserving what can be preserved and of recording what cannot; it is to be hoped that we need not wait too long for publication of some of the mass of data already accumulated by Mr. Murray on the disappearing arts of Southern Nigeria.

In default of guidance from anthropologists, writers on art have been left a clear field, with some curious results: sometimes they have combined a truculent assertion of the self-sufficiency of art criticism untrammelled by ethnological considerations with their own attempts to supply what are in effect ethnological judgments (as to age, provenance, etc.) whether from their own imagination or from an undue reliance upon the extravagances of such as Frobenius. But the excesses of Guillaume (who attributed nineteenth-century woodcarvings to various hypothetical epochs from the fifth century to the fifteenth) were followed by a reaction, and the publication by the International African Institute in 1936 of *The Arts of West Africa* under Sir Michael Sadler's editorship was a welcome and not unsuccessful attempt to combine the aesthetic and ethnological approaches.

What now seems needed in this country (apart from a generally increased interest in African art) is a close synthesis of the two approaches, with the more factual approach of

ethnology providing a firm basis for the other; in other words, it is for anthropologists (at least if they hope to study cultures in which art plays a significant part) to supplement their training with some appreciation of the principles of art criticism. Such a movement is already well established in Belgium, as was brilliantly shown by Professor Olbrechts in his exposition of Congo art styles at the Royal Anthropological Institute in April of last year.

Professor Herskovits' admirably produced booklet closes with an appeal for such a combined approach, and itself makes the best possible contribution to its realization by presenting, in less than 60 pages, a skilfully compressed and most attractively written account of the geographical, racial, cultural, and social environments in which the African artist works. Of the three lectures which it comprises, the first is a general sketch of African peoples and cultures, while the second treats at greater length the author's special field of Dahomey (the ancient kingdom is meant and not the whole French colony of Dahomey, which includes a substantial portion of the Yoruba tribe with its very different culture and art style), bringing out with great clarity the manner in which the Dahomean ancestor-cult and social and political structure conditioned the work of the Dahomean artist, and incidentally the reasons why his work is so little represented in our museums. The final section begins with a rapid survey, necessarily in no great detail, of the main regional patterns of West and Central African art and their differences. With regard to Southern Nigeria, Professor Herskovits does not seem to be aware of the extensive, though largely unpublished, work of Murray and others, mentioned above, in collecting specimens of, and data on, the numerous styles and sub-styles. On p. 53, in 'the great rounded masks of the Bakuba,' there appears to be a slip for 'Baluba,' perhaps arising from a misprinted caption in Maes's *Anioto-Kifuebe*. The summary is, however, a masterly one, full of suggestive hints for the student of anthropology and art. In the final pages some widely current misconceptions about Negro art are firmly disposed of, notably the defeatist views that it is (a) essentially incomprehensible to Europeans and (b) dead. A short but excellently chosen bibliography is appended.

In this company, it is perhaps a little unfair to review Dr. Armattoe's booklet, of similar size, which appears rather naïve by comparison. It is the substance of a lecture to the Overseas Club of Dublin, and those who have his cause at heart may wish that he had rewritten it after crossing the border on his return. He is able, forthright, and sincere—as befits his Ewe descent—in his passionate advocacy of recognition for the special values which African art, religion, and culture can contribute to human progress; he scores many a hit off our materialistic civilization, but far too often misses his mark through use of embittered and intemperate language, devoting many pages of sarcastic invective to the rehearsing of old grievances when a mere allusion would have gone home far more truly to the Englishman with the slave-trade on his conscience. He brings a natural and sympathetic insight to the study of African art, but does not allow this aspect of his thesis sufficient room to develop; it is, moreover, vitiated at many points by his uncritical acceptance of the discredited theories of Frobenius—the 'greatest of all' Africanists—theories which are likely to become less and less acceptable to anthropologists as scientific research in the subject progresses. Thus he follows Frobenius in dating one of the Ife bronzes at 1000 B.C., and says of another: 'There is no doubt whatever that this work is of the first millennium before Christ'; yet, in fact, there is still no real evidence by which we can date these masterpieces at all, in default of a scientific excavation, and no more than a strong presumption that they are anterior to the arrival of the Portuguese (though this has been sufficient to bring about some revision of the old hypotheses as to the origins of the bronze-casting industry of Benin). The 23 photographs of Negro works of art, reproduced from various existing publications, form a striking assemblage well calculated in themselves to convince an open-minded reader of the equality of African with European art. The 'select' bibliography is all the more valuable for containing 171 titles.

W. B. FAGG

AMERICA

A Aculturação dos Alemães no Brasil. By Emilio Willems. *Brasiliense* Vol. 250. Companhia Editora Nacional, São Paulo, 1946. Pp. 609

95 Immigration from Germany into Southern Brazil began in 1824 and continued through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There are now a very considerable number of persons of German descent in the three states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná. Professor Willems has written a thorough and well documented study of the process whereby the German immigrants and their descendants have adjusted themselves to life in Brazil.

In his first chapter the author has critically examined the concepts that sociologists and anthropologists of the United States have proposed or used for the analysis of social processes of this kind. Studies of acculturation and culture-contact have greatly multiplied in recent years, and in this field of social studies as in so many others there is urgent need for the clarification of the concepts that are being used. Professor Willems has recognized this, and his book is thus not only a very detailed presentation of a body of factual material, but is also a useful contribution to the methodology of this branch of social studies.

The first 270 pages give a general account of the whole process of the formation of what the author calls the Teuto-Brazilian society and culture. The second part (*Parte especial*) contains eight chapters, each dealing with some particular aspect of this culture. There is an interesting and full study of the 'Teuto-Brazilian' language formed by the incorporation of Portuguese words into the German language. Other chapters deal with the economic organization, education, sex and family, religion, juridical and political organization, literature and the press, and recreation. It is useful to compare this study with *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* by W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole (1945), in which the adjustment of immigrants coming from different societies to 'Yankee City' is studied as part of the systematic investigation of all aspects of the social structure and social life of a single North American community (cf. MAN, 1947, 11).

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

Social Life and Religion of the Indians in Kitimat, British Columbia. By Ivan A. Lopatin. Foreword by Dr. Frederick W. Hodge. *University of Southern California: Social Science Series*, No. 26. Los Angeles, 1945. Pp. 107 and 18 plates. Price not stated

96 The Kitimat, known more widely to the literature under the name of Haisla, are the most northerly representatives of the Kwakiutl, of whom they form a dialectal subdivision. Until 1930 they had not been specifically studied. At the instance of the National Museum of Canada Dr. Lopatin spent the summer of that year in their main village, and here

presents an outline of Kitimat social organization, beliefs, and extratribal relations as they then obtained or were remembered by informants.

His approach is objective to an extent which seems to the present reviewer to detract from the value of the book in so far as it is intended (as its inclusion in a social science series would suggest) for readers not necessarily familiar with the general pattern of native life on the North-west Coast. To describe a culture without reference to its immediate and well-recorded neighbours may be a safeguard against any tendency to read into it more than may be justified by the available evidence, but this advantage is offset in the present instance by the failure to show the Kitimat in perspective within the area as a whole. Without this corrective, statements such as 'the Kitimat had a peculiar social structure' (p. 99) might easily be taken to imply a unique character in a culture which in fact appears to show no important deviation from the areal norm. Since Dr. Lopatin cannot be unaware of the total distribution of the type of social structure thus described, it must be assumed that he uses the words 'peculiar' and 'odd' (p. 72) in their popular rather than their strict sense. In the introductory note on material culture an allusion to one of the most characteristic achievements of North-west Coast carpentry—the concealed stitching of wooden boxes—is marred by the misprint 'sawed' for 'sewed.' There are slight inconsistencies in the transliteration of Kitimat words, and several of the symbols given in the phonetic key do not appear in the text at all.

Despite these criticisms the book is to be welcomed as filling a gap in the ethnography of the Coast peoples. Sixty years ago Boas pointed out that the northern Kwakiutl were strongly influenced by the culture of their Tsimshian neighbours, and Dr. Lopatin, without adducing any illustrative data, ascribes to the Kitimat a transitional position between the latter and the main body of the Kwakiutl. From internal evidence the bias would appear to lean fairly heavily towards the Tsimshian, notably in the insistence on matrilineal descent and clan exogamy, a tendency to phratric grouping, the relative lack of complexity in the secret society organization, the attitude towards twins, widows, and conjugal infidelity, etc. Dr. Lopatin was able to confirm the suggestion put forward by Jenness that certain Coast elements in the culture of the Athapaskan Carrier were due to former relations with the Kitimat, and his enquiries indicated that the borrowing process was in some degree reciprocal.

Although in their material life the Kitimat have largely adopted white Canadian standards, native social attitudes and observances were found to be far from extinct. Specialized readers may well find that the principal interest of the book lies in its enumeration of those features of the culture which have proved the most resistant to erosion.

GEOFFREY TURNER

CORRESPONDENCE

Rattan Cuirasses and Gourd Penis-cases. Cf. MAN, 1946,

97 ²⁸ SIR.—In MAN, 1946, 28, Dr. Riesenfeld refers to the 'fibre harness' of the Umaidai and Wariadai tribes of the Turama River of Western Papua. In my opinion these 'fibre harnesses' have no value as a protective article of adornment. Rentoul (*Annual Report of Papua*, 1923-24, p. 17) certainly says that 'fibre harness (*karayodi*) is worn across shoulders, chest, and back with a girdle of the same material supporting either a covering shell or a short length of tapa cloth (*sipura*). In some instances a broad abdominal band of outer bamboo is also worn and a short fringe of fibre is attached to the rear of the girdle.'

The same type of fibre 'harness' covered with cowrie shells is used as an article of adornment for dances, or for the adornment of the initiates after their long period of seclusion. I think the use of this word 'harness' may have led Dr. Riesenfeld astray.

Actually, by cutting out the Turama district from the

cuirass-wearing people, it strengthens the case for cuirass gourd-penis-case cultural continuity.

In Papua, solid rattan cuirasses are found north of the Alice (Tedi) River junction with the Fly, and extend from the Dutch boundary eastward to the Palmer River and its headwaters.

In the mountainous parts of this north-west district of Papua, the gourd penis-case is the daily covering and it has an open top. Among the people living among the foothills southward to the Alice (Tedi) Junction, the daily covering is a small nut which fits only over the *glans penis*. Here the gourd is used as an adornment for the dance, and those I have seen and bought never had a hole in the top, so would have to be taken off each time the wearer urinated. I once met a couple of lads of the hill tribes coming from a dance wearing the gourd penis-case, and through my interpreter indicated that I desired to buy the two gourd cases. They would not take them off in our presence, but went away to the bush to remove them, returning dressed in their small bush-nut cases.

The nut used by the Papuans at Chirik village on the middle Fly River was more in the nature of a penial covering, as it covers far more than the *glans penis*, and could be called a public covering.

Either the Mitchell Library in Sydney or the Royal Geographical Society in London has sketches of the gourd and the nut penis-cases from the lower Alice (Tedi) River district. *Court House, Casino, N.S.W.* LEO AUSTEN

The Shango Temple at Ibadan. Cf. MAN, 1946, 27

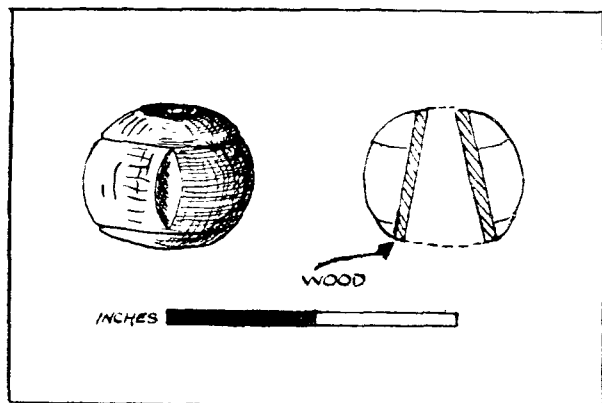
98 SIR.—In my article under the above title I referred to 'meteorites' contained in the large mortar which is the altar to the god Shango. I have been told by Mr. H. J. Brauholtz of the British Museum, who has recently visited the temple and carefully inspected the topmost 'meteorites,' that they are not meteorites, but undoubtedly stone celts (neolithic axes), of which they are very fine examples. Among some of the peoples of the Gold Coast, stone celts are known as 'god's axes' which have fallen from the sky; as Shango manifests himself in these celts, one may infer that in Yoruba also meteorites and celts are synonymous.

London

EVA L. R. MEYEROWITZ

Bronze Object from Charmouth, Dorset. Illustrated

99 SIR.—The bronze object shown in the sketch was found in the garden of Professor John Mavrogordato at Charmouth, Dorset. All efforts to identify it have so far been unsuccessful, though it has been accepted as early British. Can any of your readers explain the tapered hole, lined with wood, and the two vertical and diametrically



opposite gashes? A peculiarity is that although the wood lining can be freely moved round the hole, it cannot be pushed out through the large end of the taper, unless such force is used as would break it.

I am unable to trace any record of spinning whorls of similar construction and can think of no other explanation.

JOHN HOWARD

The Study of Religions: Photographic Records

100 SIR.—An effort is being made to establish in Cambridge a photographic record for use in illustrating the History and Comparative Study of religions.

Any persons, especially those returning from the Services or from the Mission Field, who may have in their possession photographic prints of religious buildings or ceremonies (whether Christian or non-Christian) are invited to send contributions of spare copies, to be incorporated in this collection. Such contributions will be most gratefully received, and will be carefully filed and preserved, with the names of the donors duly recorded. They should be sent to the Rev Dr. Bouquet, Gilling House, Madingley Road, Cambridge, who will be acting as voluntary curator of the record. He will also be glad to be allowed to register the whereabouts of cinematograph films dealing with the same subjects, especially if in private hands. C. E. RAVEN
Christ's College, Cambridge

A Primitive Hungarian Harpoon of Wood. Illustrated

101 In Carpathian Ukraine of today is a swamp called 'Szernye' (Bereg-shire) which is now almost drained. Even 30 or 40 years ago the occupation of the inhabitants of the surrounding Hungarian villages was, in great part, hunting, fishing, and pasturage. Their cultivated lands were then of small extent. In the villages many survivals of a primitive mode of life have remained up till now.

In the summer of 1940 at Beregujfalú, a Hungarian village, I found a harpoon of entirely prehistoric type. It is made of dogwood and has a length of 140 cm. Its four prongs are



held apart from each other by wooden wedges and lashed with rope to keep them firm. At the junction of the prongs the cleaving of the handle is prevented by a binding of rope. The points of the prongs are—as seen in the figure—lance-like, and they are charred in order to be more solid.

With this harpoon men fished in the evening by the light of a fire on the bank of the swamp: the fish, attracted by the light, were stabbed by the fishermen.

This ancient implement is now in the Ethnographical Museum of Budapest.

BÉLA GUNDA

Hungarian University of Sciences, Kolozsvár (Transylvania)

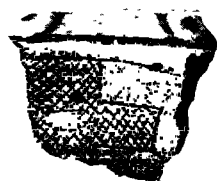
Mohenjo-daro and Easter Island. Cf. MAN, 1947, 73

102 SIR.—The hypothesis of a connexion between the Easter Island and ancient Indus scripts, as first put forward by Hevesy in 1932, was based on the alleged identity of a number of the signs, and particularly of those which he calls 'complicated' signs, representing human figures in certain attitudes or holding certain objects in their hands (cf. *Bull. Soc. Préhist. Franç.*, 1933, Nos. 7, 8; *Revista Universitaria*, XXIII, 2. Sección Academia Chilena de Ciencias Naturales, No. 3, 1938, pp. 171-179). Actually there do not appear to be any instances of identity in the strictest sense, and very few of close similarity, while dissimilarities are extremely numerous. Furthermore, as Métraux has noted, several of the apparently similar objects held by the figures are, on study of their context and variant forms, found to be quite distinct. Thus the case for a connexion between the scripts seems far from convincing, particularly when we bear in mind the immense interval of time and space between them, and the fact that we do not yet know whether there is any correspondence between their respective systems, be they pictographic, ideographic, or phonetic. (There is a voluminous literature on the M-D script, and no unanimity in its interpretation: see B. M. Barua, 'Indus Script and Tantara Code,' *Indo-Iranica*, I, 1, July 1940.) Nor is it easy to see how any process of convergence can be demonstrated or refuted where the original forms of the signs are unknown, and no chronological sequence to illustrate their respective lines of development is available: at most one might speak of parallelism.

In his recent letter Dr. Jeffreys is, however, not concerned with any supposed similarity of the signs, nor with the theory of convergence, which he dismisses as irrelevant, but with the diffusion of the general *idea* of writing to Easter Island, a much more promising line of approach for those to whom independent origins are unacceptable. But in that case why still insist on Mohenjo-daro as the only possible alternative? The case for it rested on the similarity of the signs. If merely the *idea* was transmitted, we have a much wider field of choice for speculation, and the possibility of early Polynesian contacts with other literate regions such as Indonesia, Indo-China, or China is considerably greater than with Mohenjo-daro: Heme-Geldern in *Anthropos*, XXXIII, pp. 815-909, reviews various theories and suggests that both scripts derive from "an as yet unknown Asiatic script," probably of the 4th millennium B.C. Indeed, until some fresh and more cogent evidence can be found to support it, the M-D theory is bound to remain extremely hypothetical and its further discussion of doubtful value. H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ
British Museum



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2



3



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5



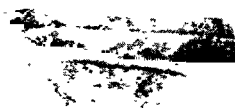
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15



16

POTSHERDS FROM SOUTH-WESTERN TRINIDAD

1-4, CEDROS STYLE:

5-8, PALO SECO STYLE:

9-12, ERIN STYLE:

13-16, BONTOUR STYLE

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

PREHISTORY OF TRINIDAD IN RELATION TO ADJACENT AREAS. *By Irving Rouse, Assistant Professor and Assistant Curator of Anthropology, Department of Anthropology, Yale University. With Plate G and illustrations in text*

103 Of the three major groups of Indians who inhabited the West Indies upon the discovery of America—the Ciboney, the Carib, and the Arawak—the last were the most widespread. Columbus encountered them in Trinidad off the north-eastern coast of South America, and in the Greater Antilles not far from Florida. There is evidence that they had also occupied the intervening Lesser Antilles before the more warlike Carib seized those islands (Lovén, 1935).

That the Arawak migrated from north-eastern South America is a generally accepted hypothesis, supported both by the nature of their culture, which is South American in type, and by their resemblances in language to certain tribes of the Guianas (Gower, 1927; de Goeje, 1939). It has been suggested that they took advantage of the South Equatorial Current, which flows past the Guianas to Trinidad, or of the Orinoco River, whose waters also reach Trinidad, to move out into the Antilles by way of the latter island (Fewkes, 1914b).

Some archaeological data have accumulated concerning the supposed precursors of the Arawak in north-eastern South America, largely as the result of recent work under the Caribbean Anthropological Program of Yale University (Osgood, 1946). Other research in connexion with this programme has led to a reconstruction of the prehistory of the Arawak after their arrival in the Greater Antilles (Rouse, 1947). We have not, however, had comparable knowledge of the Arawak movements in the intervening area.

In an attempt to fill this gap, Mr. J. A. Bullbrook and the writer undertook excavations in Trinidad last summer (1946) under the joint auspices of Yale University and the Historical Society of Trinidad and Tobago.¹ The present article is intended to provide a preliminary account of this work, and to discuss its significance for the hypothesis that the Arawak migrated into the Antilles by way of Trinidad.

The specific objective of the work was to set up a sequence of ceramic styles with which to correlate sequences previously established under the Yale programme in Puerto Rico and the Orinoco Valley. A preliminary study of the collections of the Historical Society of Trinidad and Tobago revealed the existence of three ceramic styles, each of which was given the name of a typical site: Bontour, Erin, and Palo Seco. The presence of a fourth style, Cedros, was postulated on the basis of the previous research in Puerto Rico and was subsequently verified as the result of work in the field (fig. 1, bottom).

The exigencies of transportation made it necessary to limit the field work to the south-western corner of Trinidad, where ten stratigraphic trenches were dug in the refuse of five sites (fig. 1, top). These confirmed the existence of the four styles and provided the basis for defining them in greater detail. In addition, the excavations have made it possible tentatively to distinguish six periods in the occupation of south-western Trinidad by the Indians, during each of which one of the styles was predominant (fig. 1). These results may be summarized as follows.

Cedros style.—The potsherds obtained at the Cedros site and those from Trench 2 at Palo Seco differ in style from any previously reported from Trinidad. They are, however, not unlike material obtained by J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong (n.d.) on the island of St. Eustacius in the Lesser Antilles. These sherds are

¹ The work also was sponsored officially by the Colonial Government, and for this we wish to express our appreciation to His Excellency Capt. the Hon. Sir Bede Clifford, G.C.M.G., C.B., M.V.O., Governor of Trinidad and Tobago, who was kind enough to take a personal interest in its progress. It is impossible to mention here the many other people to whom we are indebted for information or assistance, but we must acknowledge the co-operation of the Trinidad Petroleum Development Co., Ltd., in providing transportation, without which little could have been accomplished. Our expenses were defrayed by a grant from the Viking Fund of New York.

thin, fine, and hard. Although mainly from bowls, they often have a sinuous profile, combining a convex body section with a concave, outflaring shoulder (Plate G. 1). They lack flanges, *i.e.* extensions of the vessel wall at an angle to the rim. Decoration, which in the other styles occurs primarily on the flange, is here concentrated on the inner or outer surfaces of the vessel shoulders. Finely cross-hatched incised designs are particularly diagnostic and are limited to the pottery of this style (Plate G. 2). On some

Seco in style. These appeared in larger numbers in Trench 2 at Palo Seco, where they increased in proportion from the bottom to the top levels, suggesting that the Palo Seco deposit is somewhat later than the Cedros. For this reason, in fig. 1 we have placed the two in separate periods, numbered 1 and 2.

Palo Seco style.—The lower levels of Trenches 1 at Erin Bay and 1 and 2 at Quinam, as well as all of Trenches 2 at Erin Bay, 1 at Palo Seco, and 3 at Quinam, yielded pottery of a single style, here called

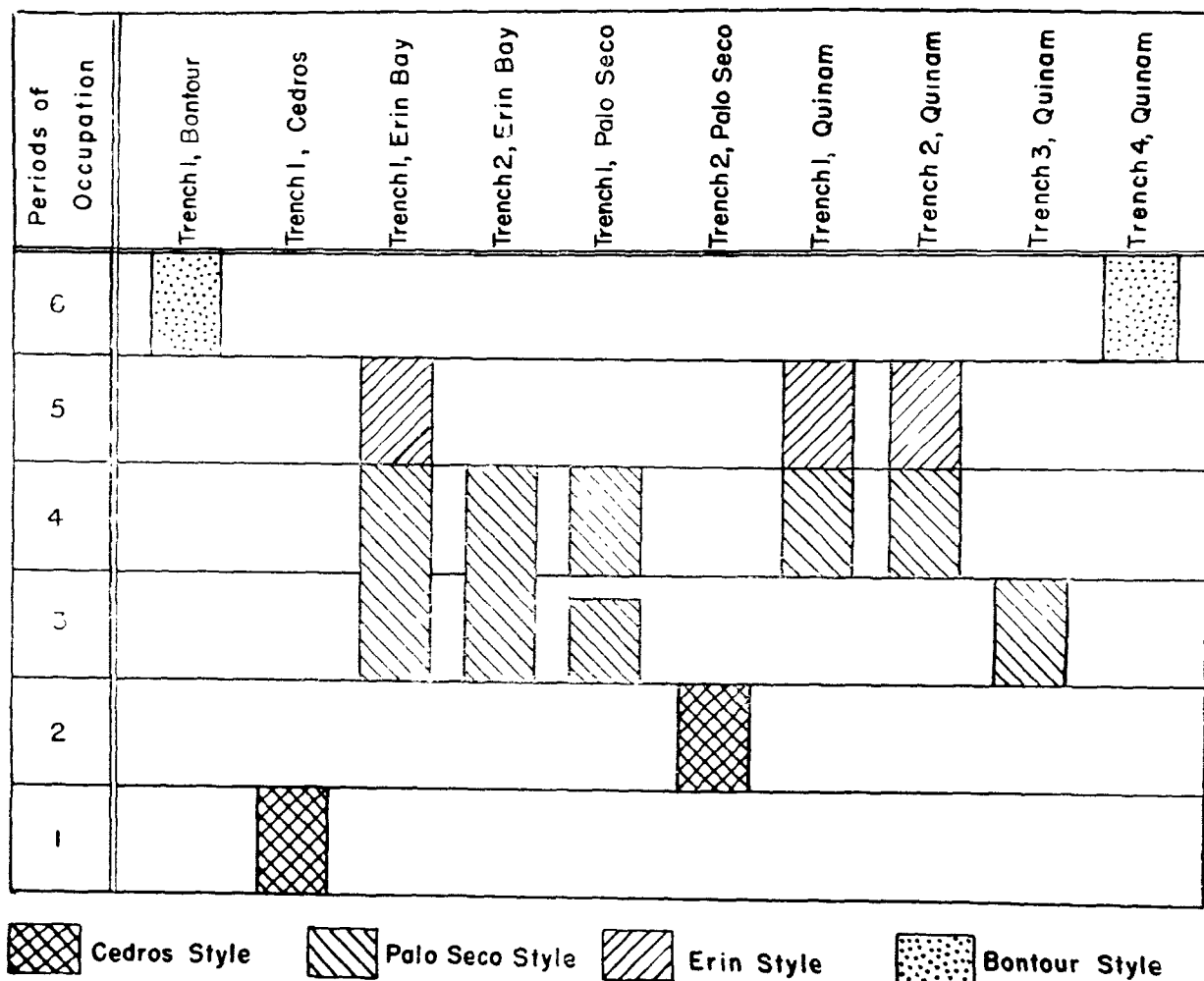


FIG. 1.—TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE TRENCHES IN TERMS OF THEIR PREDOMINATING STYLES

sherds, areas and designs are painted in from one to three colours, of which red and white are the most common (Plate G. 3). There are also simple geometric lugs, often decorated with modelled-incised figures, such as circles enclosing dots; and zoomorphic head lugs, typically concave at the back (Plate G. 2. 1). Some lugs are situated on rims and others on vertical, D-shaped strap handles (Plate G. 1. 4).

The pottery obtained at the Cedros site is considered to be a relatively pure sample of the style. It includes only a few intrusive sherds, all of which are Palo

Seco in recognition of the previous excavation of pottery of this style by Bullbrook (1929) at the Palo Seco site. Such pottery seems to be the most abundant in Trinidad, having also been collected by Theodoor de Booy (1917) at Mayaro on the east coast and by Major J. E. L. Carter and others at a number of south coast sites (Bullbrook, 1940).

The potsherds of the Palo Seco style are moderately thick, coarse, and soft, the lugs sometimes disintegrating upon excavation like mud. The sherds lack the sinuous profiles of Cedros pottery; they are

characterized instead by broad, thin flanges, concavo-convex in cross-section and often decorated with monochrome painting or broad incised lines (Plate G, 8, 6). There is some polychrome painting on the outer surfaces of the vessels (Plate G, 7), but none of the finely incised cross-hatching of the Cedros sherds. Geometric lugs bearing simple modelled-incised figures are still present, with horizontal lines a common motif (Plate G, 6). Zoomorphic lugs are not so conventionalized; few of them have concave backs or occur upon D-shaped handles (Plate G, 5).

Bullbrook (1920) had previously distinguished two strata at the Palo Seco site, and this distinction was

two groups, an earlier one marked by the presence of a few Cedros sherds, and a later one in which Erin sherds are in the minority (Periods 3 and 4 of fig. 1).

Erin style.—Sherds of the Erin style predominated only in the top levels of Trench 1 at Erin Bay and of Trenches 1 and 2 at Quinam. Although we did not find them alone in any of these places, they are known to occur by themselves in a section of the Erin Bay site previously investigated by Bullbrook and by J. Walter Fewkes (1914*+*). For this reason, the style has been given the name of the latter site.

The sherds of the Erin style are the thickest encountered in Trinidad. Although smooth on the

GREATER ANTILLES	TRINIDAD	PUERTO RICO		VIRGIN ISLANDS	LESSER ANTILLES	TRINIDAD	BRITISH GUIANA	ORINOCO VALLEY	
		Western	Eastern					Lower	Middle
IV	6	CAPA	ESPERANZA	MAGENS BAY- SALT RIVER	?	BONTOUR	DEMERARA (?)	?	LATE RONQUIN (?)
III b	5		SANTA ELENA			ERIN	NORTHWEST	LOS BARRANCOS	
III a	4	OSTIONES							
II b	3	CUEVAS				CORAL BAY- LANGFORD	CEDROS		
II a	1-2								
I	—	COROSO (?)		KRUM BAY(?)				?	

FIG. 2.—PRELIMINARY CORRELATION OF THE PERIODS AND STYLES

duplicated by our Trench 1, dug alongside his excavation. The majority of the sherds obtained from both strata were Palo Seco in style. In addition, we found a few specimens of the Cedros style in the lower stratum and of the Erin style in the upper stratum, thereby establishing the sequence of Cedros—Palo Seco—Erin styles. This sequence was confirmed in Trench 1 at Erin Bay, where a few Cedros sherds occurred at the very bottom of a deposit characterized by the Palo Seco style and the latter in turn lay beneath levels in which sherds of the Erin style predominated. Upon the basis of these differences, we have divided the deposits of Palo Seco material into

surface, they have a coarse, gritty interior consistency. Bowls are still the outstanding form; they tend to have straight, outslipping sides and thick flanges, triangular in cross section (Plate G, 12). Polychrome painting gives way entirely to monochrome, and the latter is rarely found (Plate G, 9). Incised and modelled-incised designs are commoner, more complex, and more sophisticated: the latter now occur on flanges and vessel walls as well as on lugs. The spiral and paw-like motif are characteristic (Plate G, 12, 10). Both lugs and vertical strap handles are still present. Zoomorphic head lugs are particularly elaborate and stylized: it would seem that incision

and modelling were more expertly used to delineate their features than previously (Plate G, 11).

No chronological distinctions can be made among the deposits characterized by the Erin style, because they are relatively homogeneous. All contain a minority of Bontour and Palo Seco sherds in roughly the same proportions: hence, on fig. 1 all have been assigned to the same period (no. 5).

Bontour style.—In our preliminary survey of the collections of the Historical Society of Trinidad and Tobago, we were impressed by the relative crudity and drabness of the pottery previously excavated at the site of Bontour by Major Carter and Mr. K. W. Barr. Accordingly, we dug a trench at that site, also finding pottery of the same style in Trench 4 at Quinam. The sherds obtained are thin, soft, and often pock-marked, apparently as a result of the leaching-out of particles of shell used as tempering material (Plate G, 13). The olla, rather than the bowl, seems to be the common shape, most of the sherds coming from either the shoulder or the neck of the vessel (Plate G, 13). Flanges, as a result, are rare, and so also is decoration, largely limited to the rims of bowls (Plate G, 15). Painting and modelling are virtually non-existent, save for a few tiny head lugs with pinched features (Plate G, 14). Geometric lugs and vertical strap handles are more common, but the latter lack the decoration characteristic of the previous styles. Crude appliqué work makes its appearance for the first time (Plate G, 16). Incision and particularly punctuation are also diagnostic; the designs consist mainly of straight, parallel lines or of dotted areas (Plate G, 14, 15).

In some respects the Bontour pottery recalls the Palo Seco. This, combined with the presence of a few Bontour specimens throughout the deposits containing Erin sherds, suggests that the Bontour style may have developed out of the Palo Seco, existing as a minority ware during the Erin period (no. 5 in fig. 1) and becoming predominant at a later time (Period 6 in fig. 1). Or it is possible that the Bontour style developed elsewhere during the Erin period (5), appearing in south-western Trinidad only as a trade ware at that time, but subsequently (in Period 6) being adopted by the local Indians in place of the Erin style. A few Erin sherds, but no examples of the Cedros and Palo Seco styles, were found both at Bontour and in Trench 4 at Quinam, a distribution which would fit either hypothesis.

The six periods mentioned incidentally above may be reconstructed as follows. Period 1 was characterized by the Cedros style of pottery, with the Palo Seco style just coming into existence. During Period 2, the Palo Seco pottery increased in frequency, but the Cedros pottery remained predominant. These proportions were reversed during Period 3, the Palo

Seco style becoming the more popular. By Period 4, the original Cedros style was extinct, its place as the ware secondary to Palo Seco being taken by the Erin pottery. The latter reached its peak during Period 5, at which time the Palo Seco ceramics barely survived and the Bontour style first made its appearance, either as a minority or a trade ware. In the sixth and final period, the Bontour style became predominant, with Erin the only other style remaining (fig. 1).

Previous work in the Greater Antilles has resulted in the establishment of six periods of Indian occupation there (Rouse, 1947). Period I, the first, is pre-ceramic and, since no counterpart has as yet been found in Trinidad, may be ignored here. The subsequent periods, IIa, IIb, IIIa, IIIb, and IV, are distinguished, as in Trinidad, by various styles of pottery, of which those in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, closest to Trinidad, are shown in fig. 2.

Our work last summer provided the means of correlating the Greater Antillean and Trinidadian sequences. Period IIa in the Greater Antilles is almost certainly the equivalent of Periods 1 and 2 in Trinidad, for two reasons: (1) the Cuevas pottery of Puerto Rico and the Coral Bay—Langford of the Virgin Islands resemble closely the Cedros pottery of Trinidad, and (2) a few sherds of the Cedros style occur in both the Cuevas and Coral Bay—Langford sites, either as a minority or as a trade ware. Period IIb is presumably later, since it has not yielded Cedros pottery: therefore, it is correlated with Period 3 in Trinidad (fig. 2).

Period IIIa in the Greater Antilles can be equated with Period 4 in Trinidad, for we obtained a number of sherds of the Ostiones style, diagnostic of the former period, in the sites of the latter, apparently carried there as the result of trade. That Period IIIb in the Greater Antilles similarly correlates with Period 5 in Trinidad is indicated by the presence of 'trade sherds' of both the Ostiones and Santa Elena styles in the deposits of the latter period. This leaves Period IV in the Greater Antilles to be contemporaneous with Period 6 in Trinidad, a correlation which is confirmed by our finding of a possibly Capá sherd from Puerto Rico at the Bontour site (fig. 2).

Archaeological research in north-eastern South America has not progressed far enough to permit the establishment of a comparable sequence of periods on the mainland. One correlation, however, was revealed by our work of the past summer. The pottery of Los Barrancos on the lower Orinoco River in Venezuela (Osgood and Howard, 1943, pp. 98–111), as well as the similar material from the North-west District of British Guiana (Osgood, 1946, pp. 44–50), may be attributed to the same late period as the Erin pottery of Trinidad (fig. 2). Not only are the three very

similar in style, but also we found several 'trade sherds,' presumably from Los Barrancos or a related site on the Orinoco, among the Erin deposits.

The relation of the rest of the Trinidadian sequence to the pottery of north-eastern South America is not clear. Nothing like the Cedros style has, to the writer's knowledge, yet been found on the mainland. Certain vague similarities between the early Palo Seco pottery and the Early Ronquin ceramics of the middle Orinoco (Howard, 1943) suggest that the two may possibly be contemporaneous (fig. 2). At the top of a late Palo Seco deposit in Trinidad, we obtained one 'trade sherd' which resembles Late Ronquin pottery (*cf.* Howard, 1943), but we cannot be sure whether this signifies the beginning or the end of the Late Ronquin period. Another and even more tentative correlation is suggested by the high frequency of punctuation on both the Bontour potsherds and those from Demerara in British Guiana (Osgood, 1946, pp. 50-56).

As fig. 2 will indicate, the above correlations provide only a spotty and, so far as the mainland is concerned, unreliable picture of the distribution of the ceramic styles. Two fairly well documented regularities in style do emerge from the picture, however, and are outlined in black in the table: (1) The Los Barrancos pottery of the lower Orinoco, the comparable material from the North-west District of British Guiana, and the Erin pottery of Trinidad resemble each other: and (2) the Cedros style of Trinidad and the Lesser Antilles, the Coral Bay—Langford pottery of the Virgin Islands, and the Cuevas style of Puerto Rico are likewise similar. In each case, the styles grouped together seem to have existed on the same relative time level, and therefore to have constituted a distinct ceramic horizon. The groups will be termed respectively the Los Barrancos and Cuevas horizons.

If the two horizons are combined, they blanket the area over which the Arawak are presumed to have migrated into the West Indies (fig. 2). This raises the question whether the two may have any bearing upon the hypothesis of Arawak migration.

In 1942, before the relative temporal position of the horizons had been established, Cornelius Osgood identified both as Arawak. He further suggested tentatively that the Los Barrancos horizon was ancestral to that which is here called Cuevas (Osgood, 1942, p. 3). Finally, in 1946 he expressed the opinion that the Los Barrancos—Cuevas development was to be correlated with the initial Arawak movement out into the Antilles (Osgood, 1946, pp. 59 f.).

In the light of the data obtained last summer, these conclusions are no longer tenable. It now appears that the two horizons, instead of developing one from the other, were separated by a gap in time and a

difference of style (fig. 2). It is clear, too, that the Cuevas horizon was earlier than the Los Barrancos, contrary to the theory of migration.

Of the two horizons, only the Cuevas still has the possibility of correlation with the initial Arawak migration. In both Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands this horizon seems to mark the first appearance of the Arawak, as well as of pottery (Rouse, n.d.; Hatt, 1924), and the same may be true of Trinidad. To be sure, pottery representing the Cuevas horizon has not yet appeared on the mainland, but we cannot assume that it is absent until more is known about the archaeology of north-eastern South America. As a working hypothesis, we suggest that the traits characteristic of the Cuevas horizon did originate on the mainland—whether in the Orinoco Valley or in the Guianas we do not venture to predict—and that they were brought into the West Indies by the first Arawak settlers.

It is probable that the Los Barrancos horizon also originated on the mainland, spreading from there to Trinidad, for that horizon seems to be the earliest along the lower Orinoco, while in Trinidad, as noted above, it may be intrusive into a Palo Seco—Bontour tradition of ceramics (fig. 2). The part which the Arawak played in the development of this horizon is uncertain. With the breaking of the Cuevas—Los Barrancos connexion, we can no longer definitely identify as Arawak any known archaeological material in Venezuela or the Guianas. It may have been the Arawak who originated the traits of the Los Barrancos horizon, or it may have been some other group, such as the Carib.

In seeking to explain the spread of the Los Barrancos horizon to Trinidad, we are faced with two alternative hypotheses: (1) the spread may have been the result of a second migration, following the original Arawak movement, or (2) it may have been brought about by trading or other contacts short of mass migration, such as the Warrau Indians of the Orinoco delta maintained with modern Trinidad until very recently (Fewkes, 1922, p. 64). We are not at present in a position to choose between these alternatives.

It is clear that further research must be undertaken on the mainland if we are to solve the problems of Arawak migration. Only extensive excavations may be expected to reveal whether the Arawak underwent one or two successive migrations, whether they came first from the Orinoco region or from the Guianas, and what was the nature of their ancestral mainland culture.

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THE STUDY AND PRESERVATION OF THE ANCIENT LAPP CULTURE: SWEDEN'S CONTRIBUTION SINCE 1939. *By Ernst Manker, Keeper of the Lapp Department, Nordiska Museet, Stockholm, and Honorary Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute.*

104 Although Sweden was not a belligerent in the late war, the state of preparedness which she maintained throughout profoundly affected her national life and in particular interrupted or slowed down the development of the sciences not important for war (see MAN, 1946, 100).

Naturally, our ethnologists could not send any field expeditions outside Sweden's frontiers, but Swedish researchers had at least an opportunity to study and solve their own problems in undisturbed quiet; and during those years the investigation of Lapp culture was more intensive than ever before.

Just before the outbreak of war a keepership had been created in the Lapp Department of the Nordic Museum and I had the privilege of being given charge of it. Besides a great many tasks concerned with technical matters, publicity, etc., this involved the organization of a series of field-work undertakings. The immediate task of the department was to launch an investigation into a certain region in the very heart of Lapland which was to be submerged in connexion with the construction of a power-generating station: it covered all aspects of the Lapp culture surviving from olden times in that tract and was carried out in the summers of 1939 and 1940.

We also set to work in earnest on our general tasks and attached to the Lapp Department a body of some fifty informants—representatives from all the *Lappbyarna* (Lapp communities), the reindeer-breeding districts extending from a southern limit at Idre, a parish in the province of Dalecarlia, to the Torne-Muonio River, which constitutes the frontier between Sweden and Finland. Questionnaires concerning both the material side of Lapp culture and certain traits on the social and psychological side were sent to

the informants with a view to collecting data which might facilitate our task and guide us in future field-work. The result thus obtained was above all expectation owing to the amazing interest shown by the informants, and before long a great many well written documents were being filed at the museum.

In 1943 the general investigation was launched as planned. It is still going on and will probably continue as long as finances permit and hands are available. The Lapp territory is an extensive field rich in buried treasures which require plenty of time for discovery. Up to the present, all the reindeer nomads' paths of migration, their encampments, supply-depôts, corrals, etc., have been mapped and in addition we possess descriptions, drawings, and photographs of ancient building styles, costumes, and various categories of objects. Further, we have put on record no less than 160 ancient places of worship, sacred stones (*seitar*, idols; sing. *seite*), and so forth. But there is still much to be done before the investigation can be looked upon as satisfactory, especially as regards certain districts inhabited by Forest Lapps: so far we have concentrated mainly upon Mountain Lapps.

An energetic operation has been started for the study of language and folk-lore under the supervision of Professor Björn Collinder at Uppsala University, in concert with the Dialect Archive. The whole expedition, properly equipped for the gramophone recording of the Lapps' colloquial language and *fojknäng* (Lapp singing), has been visiting market-places and other localities in the Laplanders' territory, and has already recorded many a peculiarity characteristic of the ancient Lapp dialects and songs as well as much of their folk-lore. Docent Ake Campbell, head of the

Folk-lore Department at the Dialect Archive, has simultaneously been studying cultural relations between the Lapps and the settled Swedish population, assisted by Docent Israel Ruong, a native Lapp philologist, now Inspector of Nomad Schools.

A considerable part in the preservation of ancient Lapp culture should be attributed to Västerbottens Lapska Museiförening, an association formed in 1940, on the initiative of the late Governor of Västerbotten, Gustaf Rosén, for the purpose of fostering local studies and research within the province of Västerbotten. The executive power of the association is in the hands of the Lapp superintendent Hilding Johansson and the committee includes representatives from all the districts of Västerbottens län. It is the intention of the association to found an open-air museum at Tarnaby. According to plans, complete autumn and spring encampments of Mountain Lapp type will be constructed there, including a turf *kåta* (cone-shaped hut), various uncovered caches and storehouses raised on high wooden poles, for protection against wild animals, besides a corral and a summer encampment, with temporary tent-huts, etc. A small Lapp 'church-village' (*kyrkstad*) is also projected for the same site, to which an old chapel from Tarna (built in 1762 and later, in decay, used as a hay-barn) will be moved, as well as some 'church cottages' and storehouses. The museum should be completed in 1947.

In many parishes the Lapps themselves have formed so-called Same societies (*Same*, plur. *Samih*, 'Lapp') for the purpose of safeguarding their interests. *Jokkmokks Sameförening* is, for instance, planning to found an open-air museum in Norrbottens län, the northernmost province of Sweden. As far as the Forest Lapps are concerned, their chief link with cultural traditions is the church-village at Arvidsjaur, and they hope to realize the long-cherished plan of founding a local open-air museum in connexion with this church-village.

In February, 1945, on the initiative of Bishop Bengt Jonzon, an association was formed called *Same-Ättam* (Lapland), *Sällskapet Lapska Odlingens Framtid* (The Society for the Future of Lapp Culture), which envisages both the preservation of ancient Lapp culture and a sound further development of their form of civilization. The committee of fifteen members must include at least five Lapps. So far little has been done, but the association has turned its attention to Lapp handicrafts, with the object of providing courses of instruction, models of high standard and suitable tools, and of attempting some degree of control of the types marketed. A crafts conference was held in Jokkmokk in the autumn of 1946.

During the war years, Lapp collections were established at two Swedish museums, the Gothenburg

Museum and the Västerbotten provincial museum at Umeå: a beautiful exhibition had earlier been arranged at the Norrbotten provincial museum at Luleå. The Lapp collections at the Nordic Museum, which in number and variety of objects are far superior to any other Lapp collection in the world, were evacuated during the war, and space has only recently been found for re-exhibiting them. The section opens to the public in May, 1947, the Lapp display covering the whole of the Lapps' ancient culture and showing among many other valuable objects a selection from the thirty magic (shamanistic) drums which were found during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Little of the results of Swedish research during the war years has so far appeared in print, apart from some linguistic work which falls outside the scope of this survey. But among the large number of short essays and articles published is one by Carlo Ronnow, in *Svensk Geografisk Årsbok* (Swedish Geographical Year-book) 1944, dealing with studies of reindeer-breeding at Arjeplog; *Svenska Landsmål* (Swedish Country Dialects) published two articles in 1944, one on Lapp culture in the Pite Lapp district, by Israel Ruong, and a second, by Carl Johansson, describing places of worship, etc., in the Torne and Lule Lapp districts; a great work, *Norrland: Natur, Befolkning och Näringar* (Norrland: Physical Features, Population and Industry), contained two interesting articles on the Lapps ('Geografiska Förbundet i Stockholm' and 'Industriens Utredningsinstitut, 1942'). In 1938 the Nordic Museum launched a series of publications, *Acta Lapponica*, on the scientific investigation of Lapland. The first two volumes appeared before the war: Vol. I is a monograph by myself, about the shaman drum; Vol. II, entitled *Same Sita—Lappbyn* (Lapp Camping Place), deals with the drawings and paintings of Nils Nilsson Skum, a Laplander; Karl Tirén's great collection of Lapp songs, entitled *Die lappische Volksmusik*, appeared as Vol. III in 1942; and Vol. IV, entitled *Lapsk Kultur vid Stora Lule äls källsjöar* (Ancient Lapp Culture at the Sources of the Great Lule River), containing the results of my own research into Lapp culture in 1939–1940, appeared in 1944: a fifth volume, treating the Skolt Lapps in Suenjel, by Dr. Karl Niekul of Helsinki, should be published in English during 1947. It is further to be noted that a monograph manual on the Mountain Lapps in Sweden, based on the results of recent field-work, is in the press.

Swedish research among the Lapps thus proceeded fairly satisfactorily during the war years. And it is indeed high time, for the Lapps' mode of living is being increasingly modified under the influence of modern civilization. The survival for so long of nomadic customs and beliefs is not at all due

to any markedly conservative disposition in the Lapps, but to the fact that certain old customs (the result of adaptation to physical features and useful cultural influences in the course of a thousand years) happened to suit them and their existence. However, as a consequence of the technical developments of later decades, with new means of communication, commercial connexions, and modern equipment, the Lapps are abandoning many customs in the interest of greater physical comfort. Yet this does not hold good throughout Lapland, and there is still much to be done before these novelties are universally accepted there. In many quarters the Lapps have kept their ancient culture almost intact, though even the reindeer-breeding Lapps are in most cases eager to

try out the improvements which penetrate from outside. For instance, instead of holding to the system of the self-supporting household of olden times, with its 'intensive' reindeer-breeding, an 'extensive' method of breeding has been adopted, that is to say the breeding has undergone a certain industrialization, aiming at the production of cattle for slaughter, to be sold against ready money. It is now quite normal for a Lapp family to have a fixed dwelling, a farm consisting of modern buildings where part of the family lives all the year round, while only the actual reindeer-breeders, properly equipped, follow the herds.

It is fortunate that there is, nevertheless, some ancient Lapp culture surviving, for we ethnologists are seeking it out at the eleventh hour.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Prehistory and Anthropology in the Hyderabad Deccan.

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Summary of a Communication by Sir Theodore Tasker, C.I.E., O.B.E., 25 March, 1947

Hyderabad State (82,000 sq. miles) is rich in prehistoric material, standing astride the Indian peninsula in the path of racial movements. The junction line of the Deccan Trap and the archæan gneiss passes diagonally through it, strikingly dividing not only prehistoric but also Aryan and Dravidian cultures.

Fergusson (*Rude Stone Monuments*, 1872) conjectured that 'the solution of half the difficulties, ethnological and archæological, that are now perplexing us lies on the surface of that region.'

Prehistory

The black Trap provides chalcedony for microliths from hollows in its lava, but no material for axes, polished neoliths, or megalithic tombs. Wynne's famous agate flake from the upper Godavari (1865), associated with mammalian bones, calls for research throughout that basin. The red gneissic area, poor generally in artifacts, teems with burial circles.

Two south-west districts, Gulbarga and Raichur, have special characteristics, shared with adjoining Bellary (Madras) and northern Mysore. Here Colonel Meadows Taylor, versatile pioneer, in 1850 first reported dolmens resembling those of Wales. Three papers by him (reprinted in 1941 by Hyderabad) figure in prehistory literature. Next came Bruce Foote of the Geological Survey of India, who by 1888 had sent many neoliths to Madras Museum. Then comes Major L. Munn, mining engineer and geologist, whose paper of 1918, 'Ancient Mines and Megaliths in Hyderabad,' has been cited in support of the theory that megalith builders entered India in search of metals, a view which in 1935 he disavowed. Features of this special area are ancient gold workings, one 600 feet deep; so-called euder mounds, their origin not finally determined; a parallelogram of rocks, some larger than those of Carnac; an alignment four furlongs square; a dolmen 'village,' some constructed of 9-ft. slabs exhibiting phenomenally true cleavage; urn and terracotta coffin burials.

On burial circles (earns), Dr. Hunt (*J.R.A.I.*, Vol. 54, pp. 140 ff.) is the leading authority for types with underground granite slab cist. For age and cultural affinity there is also Dr. Colington's 'Indian Cairn and Urn

Burials' (MAN, 1930, 139). Sixty miles above the Godavari gorge are two very large dolmen fields with massive capstones of sandy conglomerate. Quartzite and other palæoliths are found in this region and on the Adilabad plateau.

The Archæological Department, under the direction of Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, is conducting a prehistoric survey, has mapped and is securing 200 cemeteries, and plans museums at site. Hyderabad has an essential contribution to make to the Government of India's present investigation of the megaliths of South India.

Anthropology

Siraj ul Hassan's *Castes and Tribes of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions* (Bombay, 1920) covers 98 castes, but does not claim to be more than material. Baron Dr. Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf of the Vienna School of Ethnology began field research in 1940, and Government sponsored his first two volumes of *The Aboriginal Tribes of Hyderabad—The Chenchus* (London, 1943) and *The Reeldis of the Bison Hills* (London, 1945). A third, *The Raj Gonds*, follows shortly; all three are based on residence, with his wife as coadjutor, among these peoples. Government has, in pursuance of these studies, introduced reforms calculated to protect aborigines against exploitation and to help their transition from the old tribal order to full participation in the life of the country. In the case of the Raj Gonds, under the general guidance of Mr. W. V. Grigson, C.S.I., I.C.S., whose published work on the administrative problems of aborigines is authoritative, Dr. Haimendorf, who now combines the posts of Professor of Anthropology at the Osmania University and 'Adviser for Tribes and Backward Classes,' has reduced Gond myths and poems to a simplified form of Nagri; a training centre for Gond teachers and some thirty Gond schools have been opened. Experience so gained in rehabilitation will be used in an anthropological approach to problems of backward communities and the lower strata of the peasantry.

Hyderabad aborigines number some quarter of a million. The Chenchus on the plateau above the Kistna canyon are the most northerly of the few tribes in South India still following the 'palæolithic' economy of semi-nomadic hunters and food-gatherers. On the Godavari gorge are the Reeldis in the 'early neolithic' agricultural

stage of shifting cultivation by broadcast and digging-stick. Kolams and Naikpods, with an iron hoe, are a stage higher. Bhils, Koyas, and Raj Gondas are in varying stages of assimilation with peasantry.

Particular ethnological interest attaches to the manner in which the south-eastern thrust of the Marathas against two Dravidian peoples, Telugus to east and Kanarese to west, has become stabilized at the limits of the black cotton soil of the Deccan Trap. Although racial types cannot be correlated with linguistic groups, the 'Aryan' and Dravidian groups differ markedly in physique, dress,

culture, and character: as do the crops, cattle, and agriculture. The tri-junction of the three peoples is on the laterite plateau of Bidar, an interesting point for research.

The recently established Anthropological Survey of India indicates realization of the aid that anthropology can bring to administration. Nevertheless, the report of the Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly will be awaited with some anxiety. Meanwhile the Hyderabad Government may be congratulated on its example of 'anthropology in action.'

SHORTER NOTES

Pan-African Congress on Prehistory: Human Palaeontology Section. A Summary of the Proceedings by Professor W. E. le Gros Clark, F.R.S.

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The section of the Pan-African Congress of January, 1947, which dealt with human palaeontology was under the chairmanship of Professor Raymond Dart, and two whole sessions of the Congress were devoted to specifically palaeontological problems. A symposium on the fossil hominoids from South Africa and East Africa provoked a great deal of interest, since it dealt with some important discoveries which are still relatively recent. Professor Dart read a paper on the fauna and climatic fluctuations of the Makapansgat valley. The results of this study are likely to be of particular interest in the immediate future, for the stalagmitic deposits in the Makapan Caves, which not only contain an abundant bone breccia but also evidence of human occupation, are about to be excavated systematically under the aegis of the Palaeontological Committee of the Witwatersrand University. Dr. Robert Broom dealt with the significance of the South African fossil apes (the *Australopithecinae*) and convincingly demonstrated the entirely human character of the milk dentition in *Australopithecus* and *Paranthropus*. Professor le Gros Clark gave an account of the personal studies of the *Australopithecine* material which he was able to make during a short visit to South Africa immediately before the Congress. He concurred with Dart and Broom in their interpretation of the remarkable hominoid characters of these fossils and expressed the view that the resemblances were too numerous, detailed, and intimate to be explained on the basis of parallel or convergent evolution. He drew special attention to the conformation of the supra-orbital and zygomatic regions, the contour of the mandible, the relatively late closure of the cranial sutures, and the differential attrition of the teeth (strongly suggesting a tooth succession comparable with that of man). The evidence of the limb-bone fragments was regarded as of particular significance, since their human characters made it clear that the *Australopithecinae* were capable of walking in the erect posture much as modern man does (thus confirming the inferences already drawn from the position of the *foramen magnum* in the skull and indirectly from climatological evidence). The general conclusion was reached that the *Australopithecinae* must at least be regarded as having a fairly close relationship to the ancestral stock which gave rise to the *Hominidae*.

The important fossil ape material discovered by Dr. Leakey in Lower Miocene deposits at Rusinga and Songhor was also discussed at the symposium. The mandible of *Proconsul* and some excellently preserved examples of the upper and lower dentition provide evidence that this Miocene ape was in many ways

remarkably generalized. On the other hand, the large canines and the sectorial form of the anterior lower premolars were taken to indicate an incipient specialization along the dryopithecine line of evolution. The mandible of an immature individual showed that the tooth succession in *Proconsul* was similar to that of the modern anthropoid apes. *Xenopithecus* was judged in some ways to be even more interesting than *Proconsul*, since it serves to bridge the morphological gap which has hitherto separated the large anthropoid apes from the *Hylobatinae*. Finally, consideration was given to the jaws and teeth of *Limmopithecus*, which appears to be an early Miocene gibbon-like anthropoid ape, possibly closely akin to the Oligocene genus *Propithecus* from Egypt. For this reason it has special importance for the study of the early phases in the evolutionary radiations of the *Hominoidae* (a term taken from G. G. Simpson's recent classification of mammals (1945): it connotes a super-family of the order Primates, which includes man and the anthropoid apes). Indeed, Professor Arambourg suggested that *Limmopithecus* was sufficiently generalized to be conceded a possible relationship to the ancestral stock from which the modern anthropoid apes and man originally diverged.

In another session, Dr. L. S. B. Leakey gave a detailed account of the evidence relating to the antiquity of *Africanthropus* and from this concluded that the age of the fossil is by no means as old as some authorities have suggested. Dr. L. H. Wells read a comprehensive paper on the human remains of the Middle Stone Age in South Africa. This paper, which it is impracticable to summarize, will be published in due course and will provide a most useful review of all the important palaeontological evidence bearing on this phase of human occupation and migration in South Africa.

A Committee on Human Palaeontology was set up as part of the permanent organization of the Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, with Dr. A. Galloway as its chairman. This Committee met several times and formulated a number of recommendations which were later accepted at a general meeting of the Congress. Among these recommendations was the request that enquiries should be made regarding human skeletal remains from Africa (recent to palaeolithic) which are to be found in museum collections elsewhere, particularly in Europe. Professor le Gros Clark, as a member of this Committee, was asked to obtain information from museums in England, and he would be very grateful if anyone who has charge of such material would let him have brief notes regarding its nature and state of preservation (these should be sent to him at the Department of Human Anatomy, University Museum, Oxford).

Association of Social Anthropologists

107 This association, the formation of which was welcomed by the Royal Anthropological Institute, and which has now joined the Institute as an Affiliated Society, was founded on 23 July, 1946, in response to a general opinion among social anthropologists in Great Britain that the subject has reached a stage of development warranting the establishment of a professional organization. Its aims are (1) to promote the study and teaching of social anthropology as a specialized branch of anthropology; (2) to represent the interests and maintain the professional standards of

the subject; (3) to arrange periodic conferences of its members; and (4) to secure publication of researches under its auspices. It is intended that a journal, *Annals of Social Anthropology*, shall be published as soon as arrangements can be made. Membership of the Association is limited to persons holding, or having held, a teaching or research appointment in social anthropology, and is strictly by invitation of the Officers and Committee of the Association. The Officers for 1947 are: President, Professor Radcliffe-Brown; Chairman and Secretary, Professor Evans-Pritchard; and Committee, Professors Firth and Forde and Dr. Fortes.

REVIEWS

MARRIAGE IN AFRICA

Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer. By E. E. Evans-Pritchard. Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No. 11. Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia, 1945. Price 2s.

108 This is a small but important paper, and the Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute is to be thanked for his enterprise in reprinting in an accessible form an article which first appeared in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, and which thus escaped the attention of many British anthropologists.

The paper contains an account of the various types of marriage and family pattern that exist among the Nuer. These are illustrated by a number of case histories and by a marriage census taken in a sample community in West Nuerland. Here, as elsewhere, Evans-Pritchard presents ethnographic data in such a way as to stimulate comparative inquiry, and his definitions of sociological terms and precise use of them suggest a number of generalizations.

The paper emphasizes the importance of the whole institution of marriage in securing descent as defined in the idiom of a particular culture and, with descent, succession and inheritance. This aspect of marriage is always distinguishable from the functions that are usually considered primary, that is to say, the production, care, and training of the young, but among the Nuer the two functions, that of determining descent and that of providing for the children, are not only distinguishable but often quite distinct.

According to Nuer theory, the line of patrilineal descent can only be maintained in one way—by providing each man with a legal son to keep his name alive and to answer his calls from the spirit world. A 'son' is the child of a woman for whom cattle have been passed by himself or by one of his relatives on his behalf. Every initiated Nuer must have such a son, and not only a son but also, apparently, a legally recognized grandson. Since in the natural order of events many Nuer either die unmarried or else married yet without having produced male children, their brothers or nearest male agnates must produce the required heirs for them by contracting marriages of what appear to us anomalous types. The children of such marriages remain the legal sons and daughters of the dead man, whoever may have begotten them or acted as their protector and guardian throughout childhood.

Evans-Pritchard lists as many as five alternative types of marriage that exist to produce a legal successor for a man, and even in some cases for a woman, in order to fulfil the obligations of the ancestral cult and assume possession of the cattle of the deceased. He uses the term 'ghost marriage' for a marriage contracted to provide a 'son' for an unmarried boy; and 'female ghost marriage' for a union contracted to produce an heir for a dead sister or a paternal or maternal aunt, if the latter dies barren. The last term is also used in the case of a woman who gives cattle to procure a wife for a sister who has died barren, since in both these cases a dead woman becomes a sociological 'father' to living children.

The ordinary levirate marriage is practised in the case of a married man who dies without a male issue, but the widow is also free to choose a lover rather than one of her husband's

kinsmen to raise up seed to the dead. The term 'widow-concubine marriage' is used for this type of union.

The dogma 'one man, one son' appears to be so fundamental to Nuer legal concepts that a man will marry a wife for the family ghost before he marries one for himself; in fact, he may never have a legal wife of his own during his life-time, and Evans-Pritchard reckons that there are as many ghost marriages as simple legal ones in this society. The obligation to contract a marriage for a dead kinsman is accepted by a group of male agnates, brothers, fathers, paternal uncles; and all these kinsmen contribute cattle for the marriage payment and act as trustees for the cattle of the ghost before the 'son' is old enough to assume possession of them. It is not quite clear whether there is any fixed order of substitution for the dead man among these male agnates, nor what are the particular conditions in which ghost marriages have to be contracted for matrilineal relatives such as the mother's sister, as well as the patrilineal. Nor is the position of the polygamist described fully. For instance, is the son of a second or third wife able to act as heir, or only that of the first wife?

The distinction between sociological and biological parenthood has often been made before, but Evans-Pritchard adds to the precision of these concepts by substituting such terms as pater-genitor-foster-father, pater-foster-father, or genitor-foster-father, etc., for such blanket phrases as 'sociological father.' In the same way his careful distinction between alternative marriage forms and his methodical use of terms such as 'simple legal,' 'simple natural,' etc., make the paper a useful basis for comparison with other African societies in which multiple marriage forms and unusual unions such as woman-to-woman marriages exist. The village census included in the paper is in no sense a random sample of Nuer society according to statistical principles, but it is valuable in giving us the rough proportion of each of these types of marriage in at least one community and shows very effectively how important an institution the ghost marriage is.

One would hazard a guess that the presence or absence of alternative, and to us anomalous, marriages depends either on rules of succession that admit of no possibility of social substitution, or alternatively on rules of preferential marriage so strict that the obligations (for instance to return a bride to a family which has passed cattle to your family) may have to be kept in the spirit world if they cannot be fulfilled in this one. I suggest, in other words, that there is probably a correlation between the anomalous marriage, fixity of succession rules, and or the type of economic transfer at marriage.

The ancestral cult of the Nuer is linked with rules of direct succession from father to son to grandson without any possibility of social substitution at all, and since men do not all beget male children, a variety of alternative unions exist to produce male heirs for the man who fails to do so in the ordinary way. Among the Lovedu of the Northern Transvaal, who, like the Nuer, are patrilineal and practise cattle marriage and an ancestral cult, the rules of succession allow of considerable choice of heirs to succeed to the dead, and the raising of seed to the dead, whether by a levirate or a ghost marriage, is not considered essential in relation to the ritual

of ancestor-worship. But the system of cattle transfers associated with marriage creates other difficulties. Brother and sister are paired so that the cattle received for the girl are used to get a wife for the boy; cross-cousin marriages between such cattle-linked pairs are prescribed, and actually reach as high a figure as 60% of the marriages recorded by the Kriges (J. D. and E. J. Krige, *Realm of a Rain Queen*, 1943). Where anomalous unions take place, they do not occur because a man has failed to produce a son, as among the Nuer, but because boys and girls are not produced in sufficiently equal numbers to fulfil the cross-cousin marriage obligations. If a woman's male cross-cousin dies before she is old enough to marry him, she remains pledged to his successor through the cattle payment system, or may be inherited as a 'widow' by the dead man's brother or else remain a legal daughter-in-law to her cattle-linked aunt and chief wife to the latter's dead son, for whom she produces children with the aid of lovers. This is obviously another and a different form of ghost marriage.

Among the Tswana, who again are patrilineal and practise cattle marriage and an ancestral cult, succession is direct and in the case of a chief the legal heir must be chosen from the sons of the head wife and not of lesser wives. But the possibility of social substitution is very much greater within the succession system than it is among the Nuer, since a man may be succeeded by his brother or his grandson as well as his son. The wider choice of heirs obviates the necessity of the ghost marriage. Similarly, though cattle payments determine legitimacy and give rise to certain claims to preferential marriages, yet these are not prescribed with the same fixity as among the Lovedu and a girl is not required to remain for ever mated to a ghostly cross-cousin. Widows are not free to remarry outside their husbands' lineage and hence the levirate marriage is the rule without the option of the widow-concubine union. In other words, there is among the Tswana people greater flexibility in succession rules and in the cattle exchanges at marriages, but more limited rights of widows to remarry at their own choice, thus reducing the number of alternative marriages.

At the other end of the scale, it is worth considering the position in a matrilineal society without cattle marriage. Among the Bemba and kindred Bantu peoples of Central Africa the maintenance of succession, associated with an ancestral cult and a belief in guardian spirits, is the basis of the whole tribal structure. Not only each Bemba man, but also each woman must have an heir to succeed to his or her name, and inherit his or her spirit. But the system allows for

a wide substitution within the matrilineage. A man's brothers, uterine nephews, or grandsons, collateral as well as direct, may all succeed to the name and the spirit of the dead according to fairly definite rules of precedence. The heir is not begotten of a woman for whom cattle have passed: he is created by a ceremonial act—the *ukuppanika*—from among a number of heirs reckoned in order of genealogical seniority. Ghost marriages for the production of legal heirs are therefore unnecessary.

Such few superficial comparisons suggest that the ghost marriage and the woman-to-woman marriage are correlated with (a) the tribal dogma of descent and procreation; (b) the form of the ancestral cult and the range of social substitution allowed in the cult; (c) the emphasis on patrilineal or matrilineal descent and the size of the group, lineal or collateral, in which descent is reckoned; (d) the fixity of rules of succession and the precedence as between son, brother and grandson and between the sons of different wives; (e) the type of economic transactions at marriage, e.g. money payments and cattle transfers, whether linked with prescribed marriages in the next generation or not. The status of women in the kinship system and their freedom to mate at choice in first and second marriages and to own cattle in their own right are also important determining factors.

Evans-Pritchard gives us full material on the kinship structure of the Nuer here and elsewhere, but it would be interesting to have further data on the dogma of descent, both in relation to the rights exercised by female 'fathers' and to the obligations to maternal kinsmen and to the foster-fathers who never become legal fathers. An examination of the extent to which the cattle transactions at marriage are or are not correlated with prescribed marriages, cross-cousin or otherwise, would also be useful.

The paper gives some data on the emotional conflicts produced by a system in which a boy may be brought up by a foster-father until he is initiated and is then obliged to identify himself with his legal father's family. The variety of domestic groupings, both patrilocal and, in the case of the widow-concubine marriage, matrilocal, is also indicated. It is in a society such as this with a variety of alternative family patterns that Kardiner and other psycho-analysts interested in the comparative field should find their richest material for studies of the formation of early emotional attitudes to near relatives. A systematic analysis of kinship attitudes and kinship terms in the context of this family system would be rewarding.

AUDREY L. RICHARDS

GENERAL

Apes, Giants and Man. By Franz Weidenreich. University of Chicago Press, 1946. Pp. vii, 122. 92 pgs. Price not stated.

109 Dr. Weidenreich, when invited in 1945 to give the Hitchcock Lectures in the University of California, gave his audience an account of the latest discoveries of fossil man in China and Java, and of the bearing of these discoveries on the problem of the evolution of man. These lectures are embodied in the present work, which may be justly regarded as the latest and most authoritative exposition of our knowledge relating to fossil man. The author takes the view that man and the great anthropoids have been evolved from the same stem, but that since the parting of their ways in the lower Miocene, the anthropoids have departed from the ancestral stock to a greater degree than man has. For example, he holds that it was after separation from the human stem that anthropoids came by their great canine teeth and the peculiar modelling of the symphyseal region of their mandibles. If this were really so, then a fossil mandible carrying a human form of canine tooth cannot be regarded as that of a human being. Hence Dr. Weidenreich regards the mandible which we British anatomists assign to Piltown man as that of an anthropoid ape, thus reviving a hoary heresy which we thought was long since exploded.

In another passage Dr. Weidenreich maintains that Pygmy forms have no place in the ancestral lineage of mankind and are local variants sprung from stock of normal stature, views

which will be accepted by most anthropologists. He reminds his readers that at the time when the Pygmy theory was in vogue, its advocates overlooked the fact that the earliest form of man then known—the fossil man of Java—was of good stature. He then adds this pregnant sentence (p. 47):

'This is a striking example of the extent to which paleontological facts were disregarded and replaced with purely speculative constructions when evolution of man was the topic and when facts did not agree with preconceived ideas.' Dr. Weidenreich seems to have forgotten this wise counsel when he addressed himself to the problem of Piltown man.

The high light of the present work is the introduction of a race of giants to man's ancestry. Dr. Weidenreich now believes that the fossil men of Java and of China were the progeny of a form which may rightly be described as gigantic. His belief is based on the following evidence: (i) the discovery by Dr. von Koenigswald of a massive form of *Pithecanthropus robustus*; (ii) the finding in the same deposits of the fragment of a massive lower jaw, ascribed to a form named *Meganthropus*, which, in Dr. Weidenreich's opinion, was as large as a male gorilla, that is, in point of bulk, the equivalent of four modern men; (iii) the existence of certain large fossil teeth ascribed by Koenigswald to an extinct anthropoid, but regarded by Weidenreich as human and ascribed by him to a form he has named *Gigantopithecus*. From the size of its teeth the latter form is deemed to have been twice the size of *Meganthropus* and therefore had the

weight of eight modern men. The geological age of these fossil teeth is uncertain. In the present state of evidence it is safer to say 'there were giants in those days' than to assert that they were ancestors of man.

Dr. Weidenreich (p. 28) gives the reviewer the credit of having introduced the terms 'neanthropic' and 'paleoanthropic,' but that credit belongs to the late Sir G. Elliot Smith. He always used the spelling 'neanthropic,' using the words as an equivalent of modern man or *Homo sapiens* and 'paleoanthropic' as covering the Neanderthal group. Dr. Weidenreich adds a third term, 'archanthropic,' to designate the more primitive forms of Java and China.

In a table published on p. 30, the principal races or divisions of mankind are represented as the descendants of ancestors already separated at the beginning of the Pleistocene. The Australian aborigine, for example, is traced from *Pithecanthropus*. The reviewer is of opinion that the Presidential Address he gave to the Speleological Association in 1936 (*Nature*, 1936, 138, 194) was the first clear enunciation of this new way of regarding the origin of the modern races of mankind.

ARTHUR KEITH

NOTE.—The habit is unfortunately growing, as scientific progress batters on the decay of the humanities, of coining new technical terms which pay lip-service indeed to the Greek founders of science by drawing upon the lexicon for their elements, but declare their independence by forming them into solecistic combinations. Sir Arthur Keith mildly censures the incorrect form 'neanthropic,' and exception may be taken also to 'paleoanthropic' for 'palaeanthropic,' or, in American, 'paleanthropic' (one does not say 'palaeontology'); to 'archanthropic' for 'archaeanthropic' ('arch' connotes 'chief,' and not 'ancient'); and to *Gigantanthropus*, for the correct form of which *Pithecanthropus* should have provided a sound precedent.

It is a duty of scientific publications to use such influence as they may in these terminological matters. It is much to be hoped that where advisory bodies are set up (as recently at the Pan-African Congress on Prehistory), they will include, or at the very least have frequent access to, persons well versed in the principles of etymology; and that Sir John Myres' advice (*MAN*, 1947, 49) will be remembered by all who coin new terms or use old ones.—To write correctly, observers in other fields must *observe* in writing as well.—ED.

Racial Pride and Prejudice. By E. J. Dingwall. London: Watts & Co., 1946. Pp. x, 246. Price 8s. 6d.

110 This is a book written for the general reader, not—the author says—for the anthropologist. Accordingly it deals more with psychological and sociological facts than with physical anthropology and genetics.

In the narrow space available for this review it is impossible to give an appreciation of the author's valuable descriptions of the historical development of racial prejudices and the varied forms of social or legislative discrimination in different countries, especially as directed against coloured races. At one end of the scale we have South Africa and the Southern States of the U.S., exercising the sharpest discrimination, at the other end the U.S.S.R. and the Portuguese Colonies showing complete tolerance.

Dr. Dingwall deals also, to a lesser degree, with the Indian and Far Eastern problems; with antisemitism; with the influence of Protestant rigidity as opposed to Catholic elasticity on the varying attitudes towards the coloured peoples; and with the results of missionary activities. He describes how vested interests (colonial exploitation, industrialization), ill-digested ethnology, the Scripture as vindication of the slave-trade, psychological motives, and even neurotic complexes are responsible for fear, hatred, and violent emotions against racial minorities.

The remedy he sees in the analysis of causes and false theories. But once a dislike is embedded, hatred is supported by supposedly rational explanations. Earlier times did not know the same colour or racial prejudices. But exploitation and power politics were bolstered up in our time by what was thought to be solid evidence. The 'New Racial Science' of the Nordics claimed that some races are innately superior not only to coloured people but even to others of white skin, and thus destined to be their masters. We have seen the working of this doctrine, creating through pseudo-science a new faith and the 'obligation' of leadership over 'intrinsically' inferior peoples, and we have seen how through these theories not only prejudice arose but slavery, massacres, and war.

Economic, social, and psychological reasons are the basis for racial aversion. If sanctioned by 'Divine Right' or by the so-called biological 'Law of Nature' they become one of the greatest public dangers. The author is right to stress the necessity of throwing light on this pseudo-scientific background.

I. ZOLLSCHAN

CORRESPONDENCE

Primitive Art of Groote Eylandt

111 A remarkable ethnographical collection from Groote Eylandt has been presented recently to the University of Melbourne by the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (C.E.M.A.) and is reported in the *University Gazette*, August, 1946, p. 164. It consists of thirty paintings on bark and twenty-three implements, carved spear-heads, etc., illustrating the material culture and decorative art of the aborigines of the island. The paintings are important for the study of both cultural anthropology and primitive art, and some of them are of a marked aesthetic quality. The art style and technique of Groote Eylandt are entirely different from those practised on the mainland as represented by the bark paintings collected by Sir Baldwin Spencer and others (now in the National Museum, Melbourne). About a dozen of the paintings are by a native called Mini-Mini, who depicted, among others, the locality associated with his totem. In another picture, the same primitive artist illustrated the excavation of a prehistoric axe-head of quartzite which now also belongs to the University Collection. The other paintings show sea and land animals, native and Malay crafts, stars, etc., and some of them reveal a distinct Malay influence, thus being interesting from the point of view of culture-contact. This unique collection will be published, with illustrations, by Dr. L. Adam in a special article in *Oceanica* later. It was brought together by Mr. Frederick H.

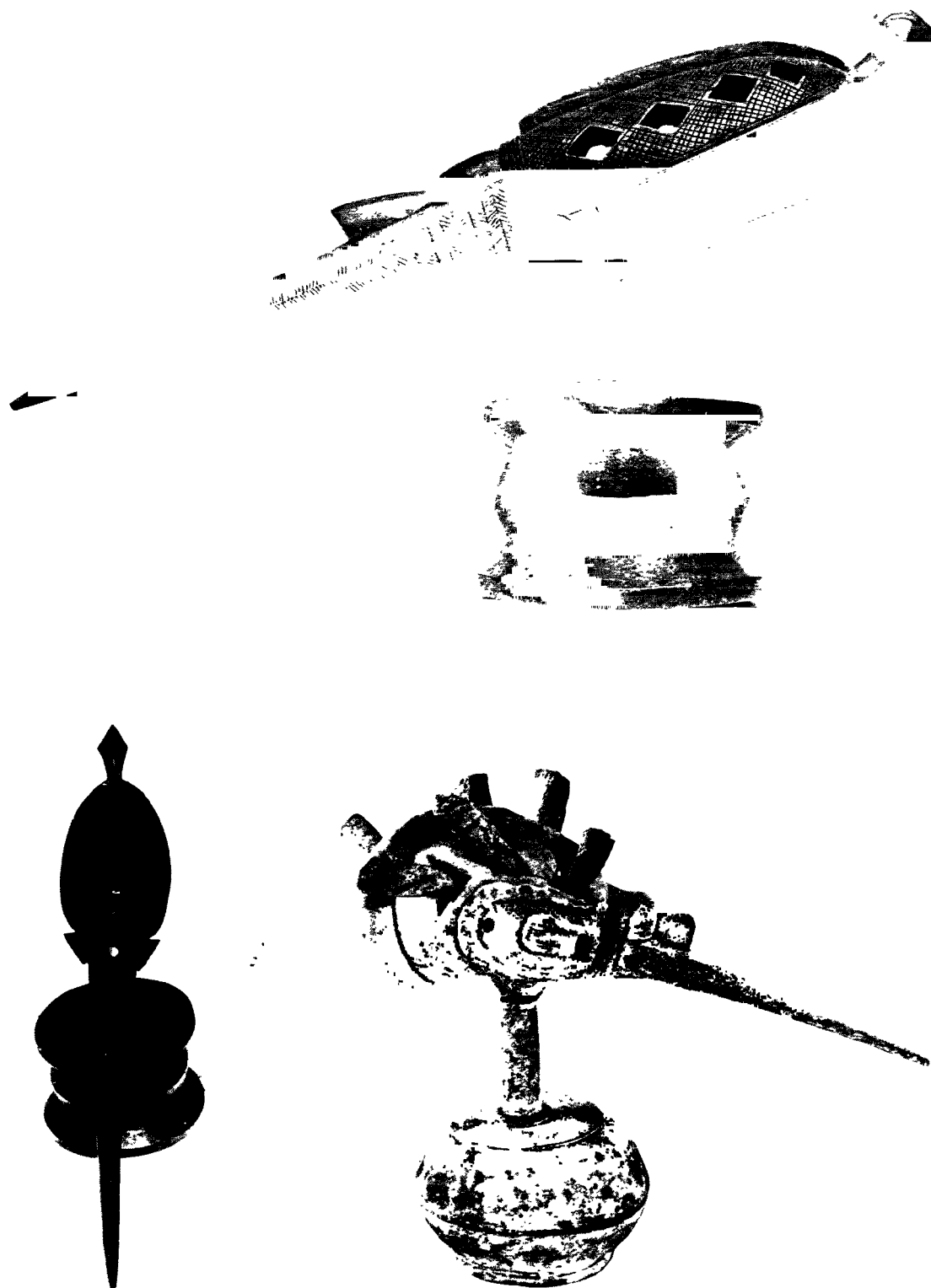
Gray, a resident of Groote Eylandt, and obtained through Mr. Frederick Rose, M.Sc., of the Meteorological Bureau, Melbourne. By the courtesy of the Master of Queen's (Dr. R. C. Johnson) the collection is, for the time being, stored at the library of the College, where it may be inspected on application to the Master or to Dr. L. Adam. It is hoped that it will be possible to exhibit the collection at a later date.

Lotuko Names. Cf. *MAN*, 1947, 42

112 SIR.—The Bari system of names described by Mr. Whitehead was, when I was there, spreading to the Lokoya, a Lotuko-speaking group living nearer to the Bari than to the main body of the Lotuko. This spread was probably due to intermarriage between the Bari and Lokoya ram-making families. The Lotuko system of naming is completely different: the child is named from some happening, animal, or object connected in some way with its birth. There is a wide range of names: of about 250 men at Torit all had different names except that three were called Lôleka, from *naleka*, 'hunting' (the feminine form of this name is Ihka, the 'e' being assimilated to the 'i' of the feminine prefix). Among names that particularly struck me were Lomótamāna, 'Little-cultivation'; Lobengkām, 'No-water'; and Labangole, 'Fear-yesterday.'

Has anyone ever written up these name systems? It would make a very interesting thesis.

RAGLAN



TWO WOODCARVINGS FROM THE BAGA OF FRENCH GUINEA

ABOVE AND BELOW LEFT: THE BRITISH MUSEUM SPECIMEN

BELOW RIGHT: THE MUSÉE DE L'HOMME SPECIMEN

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

TWO WOODCARVINGS FROM THE BAGA OF FRENCH GUINEA. *By William Fagg. Department of Ethnography, British Museum. With Plate H*

113 The Baga tribe of the coastal regions of French Guinea has not yet been the subject of systematic study by anthropologists; in the field of African sculpture, however, the Baga hold a very high place, and most of the many sumptuous volumes published on this subject in France and elsewhere in the past 20 years give great prominence (often under the attribution 'Rivières du Sud') to their standing figures, male and female, and to their enormous and magnificently powerful shoulder masks (see for example Kjersmeier, *Centres de Style de la Sculpture Nègre Africaine*. Vol. I, 1935, Plates 26-28.) It seems that Baga art is entirely, or almost entirely, related to the practices of the *Simo*, a secret society apparently of the normal West African pattern.

The two pieces shown in Plate H have not, so far as I know, been previously published, and I know of no similar example. They deserve publication on artistic as well as ethnological grounds.

The first (B.M. No. 89.12-1.1) has been in the British Museum for 58 years, and was given by T. J. Allridge, author of *The Sherbro and its Hinterland*, still an authoritative text-book for Sierra Leone, where he was at the time an administrator. The registration number had become effaced in the course of time, and continuous registers were not kept at that period, but the original record slip made out at the time of receipt has fortunately now come to light. Besides a description and drawing of the piece, it bears the information, supplied by the donor, that it was 'used by the Nalleh people on the Bargah Coast, between the Rio Pongo and Rio Nuñez (10-11 degrees North latitude).'

This specimen consists of two parts, the pedestal being carved separately from the main portion, but from the same hard, heavy wood. This pedestal, which is circular in shape, contains a cylindrical socket running obliquely downwards from the central hole at an angle of about 75°, to accommodate the peg on which the upper part is supported.

The carving proper is easily mistaken at first glance for a stylized representation of a bird. To quote the original description (which is in the handwriting of the late Sir Hercules Read), it 'represents a human head, in which the features are reduced to a nose and forehead; the top represents an elaborate cap, with four ribs and four sets of lozenge-shaped openings, the inside being hollowed out'; it is 34½ ins. in length. It and its stout supporting peg are carved in one piece from the solid, and the peg is ringed near its lower end with a poker-work circle placed obliquely, presumably as a guide to the correct or normal position (as shown in the photograph): if the top is turned in its oblique socket through an angle of 90°, its main axis is tilted to an angle of about 45° with the ground, while the point of the elongated jaw is at a level some inches below that of the base of the pedestal (which must thus be placed on a ledge when the top is in this position).

The surface of the specimen and of its pedestal is well finished, carefully cross-hatched (with a possibly significant band of 'herring-bone' along the jaws), and stained an even black. It is in excellent condition and must have been new, or nearly new, when collected.

The second piece is reproduced by courtesy of the Musée de l'Homme, Paris, where it is exhibited (registration number 33.40.86). Although differing in many details, it is unmistakably similar in conception to the British Museum specimen: the ears are more elaborately treated (in the manner of the great *nimba* masks), the crest surmounting the hollow cap is absent, the peg stands perpendicularly in its socket, and the pedestal is somewhat different in outline: but the general shape and relative position of the jaw, nose, forehead and cap are the same. The whole is coated with a greyish mud and has every appearance of having been much

used. I am much indebted to Mme. Denise Schaeffner of the Département d'Afrique Noire, Musée de l'Homme, for the following valuable information:

'Anok, venant du village Baga de Monson, cercle de Boffa, Guinée Française; recueillie en octobre 1932 par le Professeur Labouret. Les membres du simo dansent autour après les récoltes, pendant le battage du riz et aussi lors des funérailles d'un membre du simo. Les petites cornes contiennent des poudres magiques.'

Both specimens seem well adapted to being carried in the hand, for example in a dance, when taken from their pedestals.

It seems at least possible (especially when we consider the hatched 'teeth' of the B.M. specimen) that these pieces embody crocodile as well as human attributes in the lower part of the face. They may be compared with the large human-crocodile masks (bearing also antelope horns as part of their design) known as *banda* and used by the Baga in the *simo* rites; fine specimens are illustrated by Kjersmeier (Vol. I, plate 29) and by von Sydow (in *Africa*, Vol. I,

1928, p. 224), while others are in the Musée de l'Homme, in the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire at Dakar, and in a private collection in this country. Moreover, the same highly complex conception, including the human nose and bulging forehead, occurs in masks from other parts of the Guinea Coast, such as Portuguese Guinea (*e.g.*, a small mask in the British Museum, No. 1945. Af. 5) and Mendiland, Sierra Leone, where two masks strikingly similar to the Baga examples, though of much cruder workmanship, were collected at Tasso in 1935 (B.M. Nos. 1938.2-16.1,2); the same conception recurs in masks in the British Museum from the Sobo and Ijo, south of Benin, Nigeria (Nos. 96.8-17.8 and 1900.12-8.3). Further investigation of such objects, their distribution, and their religious background may well yield important light on the cultural inter-relations of the peoples of this area, and it would be particularly interesting to trace to its eastward limits this synthesis in a single cult object of man, crocodile, and antelope.

A 360-DAY COUNT IN A MEXICAN CODEX. *By C. A. Burland*

114 The pre-Cortesian Codex Laud, once the property of the famous Archbishop Laud and last published by Lord Kingsborough over a century ago, is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. This Codex shows artistic and cultural relationship with the Fejervary-Mayer Codex, still preserved at Liverpool, and the magnificent Codex Borgia. As Edouard Seler noted in his commentary on the Fejervary-Mayer Codex, it also shows some relationship with the group of Codices, such as Zouche, Vindobonensis, Selden, etc., which we now attribute to the Mixtec. Laud and Fejervary-Mayer, however, show few of the strange godlings of the Mixtec codices, and the clothing worn is scantier than would be appropriate in the Mixtec mountains. In both, too, there is very evident influence of Maya ideas—the 360-day count in Laud here described, a peculiar rain-serpent head, and even some details of costume.

These codices are certainly not Aztec. They conspicuously lack references to Tezcatlipoca, and are full of material about the gods of earth and agriculture. On the whole it is a fair assumption that these two codices come from south of Mexico and east of Oaxaca, probably from near the lands of the Cuicatec and Mazatec.

Both are the work of accomplished artists who were, however, not always fully aware of the meaning of their work. In his description of Fejervary-Mayer, Seler has discerned two places in which pairs of day signs have been transposed, and the same type of error is to be found in three places in Laud. They were obviously not documents of such great ceremonial importance as the Borgia Codex; they contain

no histories of the creation, but deal solely with the good luck and bad luck of certain time periods, and ritual details such as numbers of sticks to be pulled through the tongue for penance and the proper offerings for certain occasions. Probably they were manuals for fortune-telling priests, who in ancient Mexico placed as much faith in this calculation of fortune as in the more general American Indian custom of obtaining prophecy through trance mediumship.

However, the painters were accurate observers of nature, and they used a kind of surrealistic symbolism that has a clarity of statement often lacking in modern paintings. The pictures of the four Fortunes of the Maize in Fejervary-Mayer and of the House of the Thunder Clouds which enshrines Tlaloc in Codex Laud are models of observation reduced to symbol.

The peculiar interest of Laud, which it shares with no other Mexican Codex, lies in a 360-day cycle akin to the Maya *Tun*. This sequence is recorded in the computations attached to eight pictures, forming a long, continuous strip, which represent various phases of the activities of Mictlantecuhli, the ugly but amiable Lord of the Dead. These pictures, reproduced on pp. 39 to 46 of the Kingsborough edition (*Antiquities of Mexico*, Vol. 2, London, 1831), cover a series of 45 days, and then repeat with new series of initial days. The count reads backwards from p. 46 of Kingsborough, beginning with the day *Cipactli*, and continues with three coloured dots in the upper left corner of the page, which are counted as days, a quite common practice with this type of codex. (In both Laud and Fejervary-Mayer the

bar-and-dot system is used for ordinary counting.) These coloured dots are not numerals used in conjunction with day signs for expressing dates; the absence of that system from these two codices suggests that the users of the manuscripts either knew the numbers to be attached at a given day well enough not to confuse them, or simply failed to understand the system. Perhaps for some reason it was a sacred mystery and these codices, which might be seen by laymen, were not inscribed with it. Certainly the omission has led to some strange confusions among commentators, causing them to postulate Venus periods where there are simple 260-day counts, and to find incomplete series with mysterious interpretations where the simple Indian painter intended only a plain recurring sequence to fit his pictures.

fourth series of initial days, until for the second time we reach *Acatl* 0000000 (day 360), which should be followed by *Cipactli*. Now, if we choose the fifth-initial *Cipactli* we shall inaugurate a sequence which will repeat continuously and never again include the first initials of the series; making the series begin with 360 days and continue in a recurrent series of 315 days. This would appear so unnatural and incongruous in the Codex that we must conclude that the count after day 360 returns to the first-initial day *Cipactli*, and repeats continuously every 360 days.

This is the exact equivalent of the Maya *Tun*, but there the resemblance ends. The priests making use of the count should have known the numerical coefficient of the *Cipactli* which began the series, and its exact position in the 'bundle' of fifty-two years.

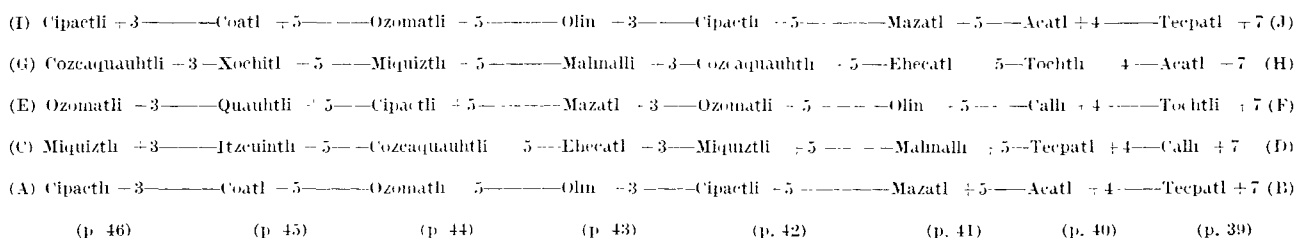


FIG. 1—DIAGRAM OF THE 360-DAY COUNT IN CODEX LAUD (AFTER KINGSBOROUGH)

The sequence is (A) to (J) (= 225 days), then (C) to (H) (= 135 days), making 360 days in all, this sequence being repeated indefinitely. *Calli* and *Tochtli* on p. 39, and similarly *Olin* and *Ehecatl* on p. 41, were transposed in error by the original painter and have been replaced in correct order.

We may now follow the Mexican priest at work. We begin to count out the names of the twenty Mexican day signs in their normal order:

Cipactli, o (= *Ehecatl*), o (= *Calli*), o (= *Quetzpalin*), *Coatl*, o (= *Miquiztli*), o (= *Mazatl*), o (= *Tochtli*), o (= *Atl*), o (= *Itzcuinli*), *Ozomatli*, o (= *Malinalli*), o (= *Acatl*), o (= *Oceolotl*), o (= *Quauhthli*), o (= *Cozcaquauhthli*), *Olin*, o (= *Tecpatl*), o (= *Quauhtl*), o (= *Xochitl*).

Having been through all the day names we begin again with another *Cipactli*, then 00000 *Mazatl* 00000 *Acatl* 0000 *Tecpatl* 0000000 *Miquiztli*, which is the second of the initial days shown on p. 46. The count follows the same system through all the second, third, and fourth initial days of each page up to *Acatl* 0000000 (day 180). The next day is *Cipactli*, and as we have not yet included any of the fifth-initial days it is obvious that our count is not complete and we must again continue: *Cipactli* 000 *Coatl*, etc., up to *Tecpatl* 0000000 (day 225). This does not bring us back to the day *Cipactli* with which we began the count. As our reckoning has passed accurately through all the initial days we may conclude that no part of it is missing. But all other day counts in Codex Laud are complete recurring series, and our count must therefore continue: *Tecpatl* 0000000 *Miquiztli*, and so on through all the *second* initials once more, and similarly through the third and the

It may (or equally may not) be the day *ce Cipactli* in the year *ce Tochtli*. In any case the count with its numerical coefficients added would repeat exactly in 360×13 days (there being no numerical coefficient above 13)—which is not the Maya *Katun*. It is interesting to note however that the Mexican count of a *Tun* begins with *Cipactli* (= *Imix* in Maya) and ends with the day *Xochitl* (= *Ahau* in Maya).

This series is very difficult to follow in the Kingsborough edition, and this difficulty probably accounts for the neglect of Codex Laud as a whole. It is high time that the new archaeological discoveries which are year by year enriching our knowledge of ancient Mexico should be accompanied by a parallel progress in the study of the pictured symbolism which illuminates and decorates almost every object of ancient Mexican art. This progress can be greatly assisted by the facsimile reproduction and publication of the remaining codices not included in the series issued by the Duc de Loubat. To our disgrace, most of these are in England: Waecker-Gotter (Egerton MSS. 2895, of which black-and-white photos are available), in the British Museum, and Codices Selden, Bodley and Laud, together with the Selden Roll, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. (Colour micro-film can be made of all these if permission is obtained from the Keeper of Western MSS.)

Black-and-white reproduction is not of great help to the student of Mexican pictography, and colour film is useful only where projection apparatus is available. Full ease of study will not be obtainable until some private Maecenas, or some adequately endowed learned society can provide for the publica-

tion of facsimiles. It is too late now to publish even the little Codex Laud in time for the International Congress of Americanists in August, 1947; perhaps something may be done in honour of the centenary in 1948 of the conclusion of Kingsborough's publication!

THE RULES OF RELATIONSHIP BEHAVIOUR IN ONE VARIETY OF PRIMITIVE WARFARE. *By R. F. Fortune*

115 The variety of central New Guinea warfare described here was observed in an area between longitudes 145° 30' and 146° east of Greenwich, at and about 6° 15' south latitude, in the year 1935. The tribesmen who maintained the wars in description had no name for their linguistic unit or tribe, and are accordingly distinguished here by their area of residence and not by name. They dwell on a part of an undulating plateau about six thousand feet above sea level, treeless except along river sides, and covered with grass which reaches about eight feet in height in the valleys, and about two or three feet on the hills.

Description of the Warfare

The warfare observed took place between the independent and sovereign villages of Finintigu, Fukaminofi, Kumuina, Jehovi, Compari, Ikanofi and others situated near the Kamamentina river head-waters, between Ramu and Benabena airfields. It normally broke out, in each case observed, a few days after the natural death of an adult male in a village.

It may be observed that, when a woman died naturally in this area, other women present in the village began wailing. Men and women of other villages in the neighbourhood, hearing the keening for the dead, came in long lines over the hills and up and down the valleys, to take part in the wake. The host of the place that had lost the woman slaughtered many pigs to feast these visitors. When a man died naturally, however, an entirely different sequence took place. The women of the village where the death took place remained mute, while the men of the same place carried the corpse and hid it in the long grass outside the village. The men then held a divinatory ritual in the course of which they implored the earth-bound shade of the dead to give them a sign to indicate the identity of their enemies. At the same time they sent out reconnaissance parties with the mission of detecting a payment due at this time from those who desired this natural death to those who had been ready to procure it by evil magic, or soul-stealing, undertaken for a promise to pay: and sometimes the parties out on reconnaissance were successful in detecting such payments. In an instance noted the magicians and their village, having lost one

man killed in ambush, were afraid and fled without accepting battle, shouting as they ran that they had indeed performed the magic for which they had been held to account, but that the accounts were square, since the life they had already taken by magic balanced the life lost in the ambush. Their imputed clients were of a different clan and village; two of their young men were ambushed and killed instantly, and a third died of his wound; they stood their ground and fought very gallantly in an unequal affair that culminated to their disadvantage.

After the ambushes which opened a war had taken place the aggressors notified their own women that they might now keen over their own man who had died a natural death a few days earlier; in this manner mobilization occurred somewhat dramatically, with women in one village wailing over a man dead in the course of nature, and in another village (or more often two others) in the neighbourhood, over men killed with arrows.

In this case, some of the aggressors maintained a stand upon a hill-top which overlooked the scene resulting from their earlier ambush and there maintained a derisive chorus of a shouted 'Oh! Ho! Oh! Ho! Oh! Ho!' above the wailing of the mourners of the slain. Below, the men of the village which had suffered in the ambush buried their dead with military honours. In the course of the funerals they paraded in column in the plaza of the village with a high-stepping knee action, and with their long-bows held vertically and centrally up and down the body; as they presented arms in this manner, they returned the shout 'Oh! Ho! Oh! Ho! Oh! Ho!' in reply to the similar shout of the aggressors, but, unlike them, did not maintain it for more than a few minutes.

War-parties of men from surrounding villages within a radius of a few square miles soon began to come into the villages of both principals in the issue that had been raised. Those bound for the village of the aggressors might be distinguished by the fact that they came with battle-dress of cassowary plumes worn in the hair; those bound for the village or villages who had suffered an ambush came without offensive battle-dress of cassowary plumes, but with clay daubed over the torso instead. When these

latter entered the village they had come to help, their hosts immediately brought them warm water and washed the clay from their bodies for them. Thus each principal in the war received its allies with ceremony, and prepared a feast of pork and sweet potatoes and green beans for all comers to its aid before the serious fighting began. The women of each principal party secured their domestic pigs to poles, and slung their bags of shell-money on the poles in such a way that every two women might carry pigs and money in subsequent movements.

If the weather was fine and the grass dry, the attack opened with one party firing the grass downwind upon its opponents, following through the smoke and deploying opposite the enemy fire at thirty to fifty yards range. The village huts of both principals were usually reached and burned on the first or second day. If it was wet it was naturally more difficult to mount an offensive than in the dry season when the grass might be burned. The war continued until one party was decisively routed. The victors returned from the pursuit calling the number of their kills and the number of pigs and bags of shell-money secured in plunder. Their women and children received them back with a lyrical song, and soon afterwards men, women, and children of the victors systematically plundered the gardens of their routed and conquered enemies.

Relationship Behaviour in War

The villages of the upper Kamamentina river valley which act as independent sovereigns in war are peopled by the men of parallel lineages on their fathers' sides, and in the male line of descent, together with their families. A few elderly widows who were born in the village may also be resident. Inter-marriage between the sons and daughters of families of the same village is prohibited and regarded as incestuous. The daughters of the families of a village are normally betrothed to young men of all villages in all directions within a five-or-six-mile radius from their home. As any single village is connected with every other village in its neighbourhood by the marriages of at least a few of its daughters, there are always some women whose brothers and fathers are members of one principal party to a war, while their husbands and fathers-in-law are members of the other principal party to the war. These women are permitted neutral rights and have an acknowledged right to immune passage between the lines. In case they are behind their brothers' lines towards the climax of a war in which their brothers' party have the ascendancy, they are expected to walk over to their husbands' lines to do their duty in carrying domestic pigs and shell-money in the rout which may be expected soon to follow.

In one case I observed an instance of a woman taking such action towards dusk. As it happened, she was probably killed in the sequel, for next morning early, when I saw the victors returning from the pursuit, the principals were heatedly engaged in informing the men of a village allied to their own that they would be the next enemy on their list: the accused allies went off home immediately without waiting for, or demanding, their share of the plunder, and when I enquired what the matter in dispute was, I was informed that the men of the allied village had shot down a married daughter of a family of their principal in the confusion and darkness.

In another case I saw women in the relationship under discussion come centrally between the lines, emerging there with two seriously wounded men of one line under their wing. The arrow-fire ceased immediately. They turned across the centre of no-man's-land to the side lines and there left the wounded men with a large body of friendly passives who were keeping an interested eye upon the development of the war, and who sent the wounded men under escort to their own homes. They also escorted four or five combatant members of their own village into the war every morning, and out of the war every evening. They went to their own village every evening to sleep in their own houses, while the burned-out and homeless principals and some others of their allies lay down to snatch no more than a few hours' sleep where their lines were drawn. The women who had escorted the wounded men to safe keeping across the centre of the narrow no-man's-land returned by the same route to the lines from which they first emerged. They had the right to pass into the opposition lines if they so desired, but in the case in mention they were probably well aware that they had been partisan, and that if they went over they might be scolded for it.

A man was certainly expected to serve his village in action against his sister's husband or against his wife's brother. I observed one case of a newly wed lad of our acquaintance taking the field against his bride's folk a few days after his wedding. I also overheard two or three instances of men shouting that they had just made their sisters war-widows, or their wives brotherless. I never met a man abstaining from action with his village because his village was opposed to the village of his brothers-in-law. On the other hand I frequently met a man abstaining from action with his co-villagers in battle because they were fighting against the clan of which his mother was born, or against the clan into which his paternal aunt was married. In respect to brothers-in-law, we may say that they are not permitted neutral rights when their respective villages are in conflict.

A man is expected to aid his maternal uncle's son or his paternal aunt's son in war when he can. In order to bring aid such a man must command the agreement of the men's council of his village, who are responsible; if he secures it he may also secure the fighting alliance of all his co-villagers for the aid of his kinsmen through his mother or through his paternal aunt. In the above-mentioned instance of the body of friendly passives, for example, the combatant persons escorted into and out of the war daily by the passives were maternal uncles' sons and paternal aunts' sons of some members of one of the principal parties involved. (Incidentally, the caution of the passives in committing themselves no further than they did may possibly be explained by the circumstance that the principals to whom they gave limited aid were outnumbered ten to one. In the sequel, however, the passives had to take action to protect their own comparatively few combatant members; they fought a rearguard action when other resistance had collapsed, and gave the entire defeated party shelter in their own territory, at some distance from that of the victors.) The relationship between a man and his mother's brother's son—reciprocally viewed as that of a man and his father's sister's son—is the unique relationship upon which alliances in war are made to hinge in this area, if we except alliances made between villages simply for payment. When a man's village goes in battle against the village of his maternal uncle's son or of his paternal aunt's son, the relative, who is an ally in war or else nothing, becomes neutral. The rule here is reciprocal, so that when a man withdraws from one side his maternal uncle's son or his paternal aunt's son also withdraws from the other. The individual persons who were frequently met abstaining from action with their co-villagers in battle, when their co-villagers were in action against a mother's village of birth or a paternal aunt's village

of marriage, were not generally withdrawn from action. In fact I noticed one such person particularly when he was in action on one occasion, and far removed from it on another, since it had then gone against his mother's village of birth.

The natives of this area maintain the custom whereby a brother or a father's brother's son becomes the husband of a brother's or a cousin's widow. It is of some interest to note that when the men of one party to a war make a sister of one or more of their number into a war-widow, they need not then attempt to alienate the widow from their enemy. I observed three cases bearing on this point. In two instances the sister and widow was sent across the lines to mourn for her husband whom her kinsmen had killed, and to remarry his surviving brother or cousin after a decent interval. In one instance the sister and widow was retained by her kinsmen and given in remarriage to an ally of the day instead of to the enemy of that time.

Conclusion

These, then, are the rules of relationship behaviour derived from events observed in one variety of primitive warfare. They include provisions special to the constitution of clans and to New Guinea society, as contrasted, for example, with the constitution of nations and with European society. They do not, incidentally, include any provision for the capture or for the proper treatment of prisoners of war. However, differences in type admitted, these rules are related in a general way to those which the French call *le droit des gens*, and which Bentham called international law. Inter-clan law, the subject of our present paper, is impartial enough, but severely limited in scope: the type of justice associated with international war is, in contrast, not equally impartial and not equally limited.

SHORTER NOTES

The Journal of the Indian Anthropological Institute

116 The Indian Anthropological Institute, publication of whose *Journal* was interrupted in 1942, is to be congratulated upon the appearance of the first volume (issued with a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation) of its new series, edited by Dr. B. S. Guha and published (1945) at the University of Calcutta, price Rs. 10 (India); 15s. (foreign); it comprises 76 pages.

It contains a valuable posthumous paper by Sir Aurel Stein on *Desiccation in Asia*, (already printed in Hungarian) attributing specific cases of desiccation to human, not physical, causes, political or economic; a *Survey of Ancient Gandhara* by M. E. and D. H. Gordon, traversing ground already partly explored by Col. Gordon and Mlle. Simone Corbier; an *Archaeological Miscellany* by Col. Gordon, covering the rock-engravings of the Bangalore

area, the flaking sites in the Western Deccan, and the microlithic sites near Jubbulpore; an account by Dr. A. Aiyappan of the *Megalithic Culture of Southern India*; a study of *Gond Ecogamy* by M. P. Burdurkar; and reviews of R. F. S. Starr, *Indus Valley Painted Pottery*, and Baron Omar R. Ehrenfels, *Mother-right in India*.

J. L. MYRES

An Early Skull from Mexico

117 Hans Lundberg and Hellmut de Terra, exploring at Tepexpan in the Valley of Mexico, have found a skull, short and rather broad with moderate brow ridges, which they consider to be of Pleistocene Age. A preliminary illustration has been published in *Life Magazine*, 31 March, 1947. Some limb bones have been found with the skull. H. J. FLEURE

OBITUARY

Hugo Obermaier: 1877-1947

118 Dr. Hugo Obermaier, an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute since 1922, died recently at Friburg in Switzerland. A pupil of H6rnes and Albrecht Penck, he was one of Europe's most distinguished prehistorians and quaternary geologists. He was born in 1877, being the son of the civic librarian at Ratisbon (Bavaria). In 1904 he went to Paris and there first met his life-long friend, the Abb6 Breuil. In 1909 Obermaier was associated with Breuil and the late Prince of Monaco in excavating Castillo (North Spain), and a little later was appointed one of the professors at the Institute of Human Palaeontology, then recently

founded by the Prince at Paris. The first world war found him still working at Castillo, and he remained in Spain after the conclusion of hostilities, obtaining a post at Madrid and becoming a naturalized Spaniard. With the advent of the Spanish civil war the bottom of Obermaier's world collapsed. Much of his life's work was destroyed and he returned to Switzerland. About a year ago he suffered a stroke from which he never properly recovered. Few persons knew that Obermaier was a Roman Catholic priest. He had a charming, lovable character and will be much missed by those of us who were his pupils and by his friends.

M. C. BURKITT

REVIEWS

Arts of the South Seas. By Ralph Linton and Paul S. Wingert in collaboration with Ren6 d'Harnoncourt. Colour illustrations by Miguel Covarrubias. *The Museum of Modern Art. Distributed by Simon and Schuster, New York, 1946. Pp. 200, 200 Plates. Price \$5.00.*

119 This lavishly illustrated book, which includes reproductions in colour of four of Mr. Miguel Covarrubias's gouache paintings of Oceanic sculptures, covers a wide range—the aboriginal arts of Micronesia, Polynesia, Melanesia (including New Guinea) and Australia. It is based upon an exhibition organized by the authors (with some re-distribution of responsibility) and held at the Museum of Modern Art. The objects were lent for the most part by some of the best-known museums of the United States, though contributions were also made from museums in Toronto and Adelaide, and by a few private owners. An English reader can only express his regret at not being able to see such a magnificent collection of beautiful and interesting things, and his appreciation of the enterprise evidently shown by the organizers and by the Museum of Modern Art in thus interpreting its functions so widely.

The aim of the book (apart from its immediate task, presumably, of illuminating the exhibition) is threefold: to give a body of illustration and an exposition of the art styles of the Oceanic region because of their importance for artists and students of art; to give a description of the cultural setting of these art objects because of their unfamiliarity to Western peoples; and to give a general account of 'the human background of the Pacific war area.' It is thus a contribution to art, relying in part on the materials of science, and an effort to satisfy a possibly somewhat temporary demand for public enlightenment about a hitherto little-known region. Much of the value of the book lies in the collaboration of disciplines and experts which has been sought for these purposes; some of its weaknesses also seem to have arisen from the need to meet them in a fairly limited time.

As an effort in popular education the book is grand. The plates show a wide range of cultural objects and art forms, and some of the examples show a power of design and command of technique that can hardly fail to draw the attention, if not admiration, of even the most casual reader. Such, for instance, are a human figure surmounted by a bird, from the Sepik area (collection of Washington University, St. Louis); a carved human head from the Sepik area (University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia); a Hawaiian food bowl supported by two human figures, semi-recumbent (Peabody Museum, Harvard University); and a large human head mask from central New Britain (Chicago Natural History Museum). The text of the book is written in a lively, interesting style, packed with relevant information on the social institutions and ritual of the various peoples concerned, and with brief snewy analyses of their art forms. Take the Sepik area as an instance (p. 111):

'Sepik River art derives its unique character from its remarkable ability to make plastic forms the carrier of strong emotions. It lacks to a great extent the traditional

formal restraints that give uniformity to other regional styles. Based on human and animal shapes that are often distorted or combined to produce grotesque and fantastic effects, this intense, sensual, magic art depends for its plastic impact almost entirely on the bold integration of its design elements.'

Whether the 'strong emotions' are those of the Sepik artist or of the observer is irrelevant in this context; this is Sepik art in a nutshell. And there is much more of the same neat verbal characterization. The chart of distribution of basic trends in Oceanic art, drawn up with the simplification, geometrization or distortion of natural forms as criteria, does indicate broad regional differences and relationships, without postulating any historical process, as is the usual temptation. And though it is a little strange for an anthropologist to find Fiji included under Polynesia, Central Polynesia widened to include not only Samoa but also Tonga, and the Massim area apparently embracing the Western as well as the Eastern Papuo-Melanesians, each of these classifications (except perhaps the last) is given its justification in terms of related art forms.

A real defect from the point of view of presentation, however, is the maps, the islands in which are apt to show curiously jagged outlines, and in which there is a remarkable scarcity of names. In the New Hebrides the only islands (or places) named are Malekula and Ambrym. In New Guinea, three important river systems, Sepik, Fly and Purani, are mentioned in the text, but only one, the Sepik (*sic*), is named on the map, and among the other four shown the Purani does not appear at all. In New Zealand the only nomenclature thought worthy to appear is North Island and South Island. Some neglect of detail (or perhaps hurried proof-reading) shows also in such names as Sidney for Sydney, Jaluit for Jaluit, Upu for Upou, Ouv6a and Mar6 without their accents and (in the bibliography) Ava for Aua and Archer for Archey. The statement on p. 54 that 'the few art objects that have been found in archaeological work in New Zealand differ sharply from the work of the historic Maori' should read '... do not differ ...'; and was probably so intended. But these are points which only a specialist would notice and do not affect the main educative character of the book.

Though the book was not produced primarily as a contribution to anthropology, it has a distinct value as such. It is useful as giving a synoptic view of the Oceanic cultures with a craft and ritual orientation, and as is only to be expected from Professor Linton's authoritative work in this field, there is little in either fact or treatment that one can find to cavil at. One might object that the term 'communitic' has nowadays become so overloaded with meanings that the application of it to the cultures of the Papuan Gulf is not significant; that Maori women were—and a few still are—tattooed not only on the lips but also upon the chin; that the wife of a captured Maori chief sent her prized green-stone *hui tiki* neck ornament to the wife of the captor not because it was a 'regulation' (who could enforce it?) but because she hoped to secure her husband's release thereby; that to say that women in the

Marquesas were valued mainly as sexual objects sounds like one of those half-truths that women are always accusing men of inventing. One might question also the validity of the very clear-cut distinction of two 'waves' of immigrants into Polynesia, one through Melanesia and the other through Micronesia. Apart from any argument about routes, it is surely preferable to think, as Professor Buck and others do, of 'streams' of immigration. Again, it is not quite clear what is the purpose of the Bibliography, which seems to include rather a mixture of Oceanic ethnography as background, books and articles on Oceanic art and a few—such as Frazer's *Native Races of Australia*—for which it is difficult to see any reason at all, in the face of the omission of any of the works of Seligman, Thurnwald or Hogbin, or older publications such as those of Robley or even Dumont D'Urville. But from the anthropological point of view such minor queries are lost in the great advantage of having for the first time a large series of illustrations of some of the outstanding objects of Oceanic craftsmanship in the collections of the United States, described in their cultural setting.

But it is as a study in the appreciation of a regional form of art that the book demands most serious consideration. Here are its most novel contributions and its most debatable issues. The treatment as a whole starts from a proposition that while the solution of formal problems admired in African negro art can be appreciated in terms of 'pure aesthetics,' an understanding of the relationship between form and content in Melanesian sculpture calls for some knowledge of the cultural background of the native artist (p. 8). No precise statement of what is meant by form and by content is given, but taking them at face value, the need for such an antithesis as a springboard is not clear. Surely formal problems—e.g. those of the structure of a design, proportions, arrangement of planes, massing of colours—are matters of aesthetic judgment which are independent of cultural factors. Problems involving questions of content, on the other hand—e.g. the meaning of a design, or the use to which the finished object will be put, in relation to the form which the design takes—necessitate calling upon cultural data for their solution. This would seem to hold independently of the region and period concerned, whether it be negro Africa, Melanesia, mediaeval Europe or contemporary North America. The difference is that for the last two we are sufficiently familiar with the general cultural context to require the minimum reference to it in an art catalogue or work of art criticism. But 'Madonna,' 'Pietà,' 'triptych,' even 'picture,' are all terms heavy with cultural content: they are institutionalized ways of treating aesthetic problems. Hence the examination of the Oceanic cultural context is not dictated by the special nature of Oceanic art, but by the general type of problem which the authors have set themselves.

What is this problem? Broadly, it is to separate Oceanic art into a number of types and to relate each type to whatever cultural and other factors seem to be most significant for its existence. What of their answers? In the first place, using criteria of similarity of style, but keeping an eye on geographical contiguity, they have distinguished a score of art provinces—termed by the authors 'cultural areas'—within the four major regions. Some, like Easter Island, the Admiralty Islands or the Huon Gulf area, are small and with little local stylistic variation; others, like the Sepik area or the 'Massim' area, have many distinct local styles. These areas are admittedly only a 'convenient device' for organization of the mass of material, and as far as this reviewer can judge, the scheme is well worked out, though the fairly well marked local distinctions of art style in New Zealand have been ignored, and some attempt might have been made to break up the 'Dutch New Guinea' area with reference to differences between, say, Marind-Anim, Lorentz and Eilanden river and Geelvink Bay materials. The succinct manner in which the main features of the art of each cultural area are described and related to the relevant institutional context deserves praise.

Less successful are the answers of the authors to an associated problem, that of the factors which have influenced or been responsible for variations in Oceanic art styles as such. It is a problem which they glance at sideways rather than face squarely, and their hypotheses are therefore stimulating rather than always solidly thought out. At many points

they recognize the existence of more than one style or 'tradition': there are usually two, and they are distinguished by sharply opposed characters—restraint as against exaggeration; naturalism as against conventionalization; static as against dynamic; angular as against curvilinear; formalism as against emotional quality. In some contexts the contrast is seen between the art of different cultural areas. Thus in Melanesia one major tradition—that of distortion, strong colours, bold interplay of curved lines and surfaces, and often huge dimensions—is seen exemplified by the New Hebrides, and parts of the New Britain, Sepik and Papuan Gulf areas. The other—that of dignity, elegance, life-like proportions, avoidance of polychromy, and moderation in size and treatment—is most characteristic of the Solomon Islands, the Admiralty Islands and the Massim area. In other contexts two traditions are identified within a culture area. In Hawaii a simple naturalistic style of figure carving of the human body, static and restrained, is found also for certain types of human-head carving, while for another type of human head a grotesque, highly conventionalized style obtains. Something of the same is found among the Maori, though the contrast stressed here is that between the simple angular geometric designs of woman's art and the complex, curvilinear designs characteristic of arts pursued by men. In Admiralty Islands figure carving there appear to be two traditions—one emphasizing angular, four-sided shapes and 'fixed aggressiveness' in facial expression; the other emphasizing rounded cylindrical shapes and 'a calm, almost introspective expression.' This contrast of extremes is reminiscent of the recognition of many other such polarities—introversion and extraversion, tender-mindedness and tough-mindedness, Apollonian and Dionysian cultures. How far the sharp contrast is grounded objectively in the material and how far it is imposed subjectively on the material by the observer must be a matter of argument. But our authors here seem uncertain how far they ought to go in trying to explain this stylistic contrast: whether they can venture any kind of general explanation or had better keep to immediate local correlates; how much emphasis they can lay on basic temperamental dispositions, on cultural determinism—in the expression of institutional patterns such as magic or a fixed system of rank, or in response to external influences—or on the effects of geographical environment. The result is a number of hypotheses, each of which alone may have some plausibility, but which when matched against the others raises the question of consistency.

For instance, the New Hebrides are stressed several times as 'a region of violence where man is continually threatened by nature'—by hurricanes, tidal waves and earthquakes—and this, we are told, has left a deep imprint on the life of the natives, as their art *inter alia* reveals. This art, it will be remembered, belongs to the dynamic group achieving strong emotional effect through distortion. But in Hawaii, the exaggerated style of wood carving, of 'grotesque and violent quality' is not referred to the local volcanic activity, with its mythology of Pele the fire goddess, as one might expect from the foregoing. It is attributed to a late wave of immigrants who were the ancestors of the Hawaiian aristocracy. Again, relationship is noted between this Hawaiian style and facial conventions used in Maori and Marquesan carving. But no special correlates are given for this style in Maori art, which is simply put down as a local development from eastern Central Polynesian conventions, and this facial convention in Marquesan carving is given a possible derivation from a very special phenomenon—the sunken eyes and shrunken lips of a mummified human head. An example of another kind is given by a suggested interpretation of Huon Gulf art, which includes that of the island of Tami. The art of this cultural area is described as having a 'lethargic heaviness and inertness, sometimes relieved by the flowing curves of decorative detail.' It is suggested that this style may be the outgrowth of a culture 'where static, inherited rights repress and restrain the active forces of man's nature,' and this static culture in its turn is attributed to geographical isolation. Yet the Tami at least are known as great canoe-builders, voyagers and traders, and the folk of this area probably suffered from less isolation than did those of the New Hebrides, whose art is of such a rich and forceful style. Geography does not seem to be

the answer, therefore. But in the New Hebrides social position is not hereditary; it is attained by hard striving, by economic climbing, by display and the use of one's personal qualities. In the Huon Gulf area, on the other hand, competition is only slight (or so it is alleged), and it is this lack of opportunity for personal striving that the authors would really seem to have in mind as their correlate for the dullness of the art of this area. It is not perhaps going too far to see in this field of social opportunity or the lack of it the basic factor which the authors would like to use as one of their main determinants of a forceful or a restrained art style. They do not say so, but it appears to stand at the back of much of their interpretation. If so, it would be an interesting thesis to have argued. But, as with the other theses already mentioned, the hints given are enough to render this a stimulating book on the theoretical side, though not enough to render it a work of definitive importance. However, as the authors modestly imply, this is no more than a preliminary survey, and as such is of distinct value.

RAYMOND FIRTH

Research and Regional Welfare. Edited by Robert E. Coker. North Carolina University Press (Oxford University Press). 1946. Pp. xci, 230. Price \$3 (18s. 6d.)

120 This is a collection of addresses commemorating the 150th anniversary of the University of North Carolina, and is mainly concerned with stimulating and guiding the current movement of intellectual and industrial progress in the 'Old South.' Most of these addresses deal with regional and practical matters: for the 'Old South' has fallen behind the rest of the United States in the development of its natural resources, and even in the higher education of its own citizens. There is an interesting parallel in the development of the Pacific North-West, especially in regard to minerals and forests. But some of the addresses take wider ground, for example on the teaching of literature and the other humanities — 'we teach history, that history may be learned' — and on the place of fisheries in a national economy. There is an exhilarating enthusiasm throughout: an example, of topical interest, concerns the application of electric power to the regulation of seasonal temperatures in houses and works: 'as a *load-builder* for power-generating equipment and transmission-lines the possibilities are tremendous' (p. 44). Will Mr. Shinwell¹ please note! But in the economy of North Carolina 'the bright new world would depend on two things. The (commercial) company must stay small, the company must be scientific': no Power Board, no bureaucracy. We do things differently here.

For anyone who cares to watch the old 'frontier' spirit re-oriented on scientific and economic adventures within a closed territory, this is a most illuminating expression of academic outlook.

JOHN L. MYRES

¹ At the time of going to press, Minister of Fuel and Power in His Majesty's Government — Ed.

The Theory of Human Culture. By James Feibleman. New York (Duell, Sloan and Pearce). 1946. Pp. xiv, 562. Price \$5

121 This interesting book aims high, and is not easy reading. The author, formerly Professor of Philosophy and English in Tulane University, and still young, has written on *Positive Democracy*, *The Unlimited Community*, and on the philosophy of aesthetics. He has also seen something of the simple societies of the south-west. He begins with fundamentals, and sometimes finds it a little difficult to get away from them; but he has made a valiant and independent attempt to lay a philosophical foundation for the study of human culture.

The problem of culture, for him, begins with the subconsciously held ontology of the individual: his notions of being and of value. And as every individual's ontology is formed within a human group of persons each with his own related ontology, culture comes to mean neither social growth exclusively, nor the intellectual side of civilization, but the organization of value in human society: 'the particular employment of a pure philosophy within a given environ-

ment.' This view presumes a philosophy and a method, and the earlier part of this book is devoted to expounding this presumption. Then follow examples of the method applied to various types of culture; and so is reached the consideration of the advancement of individual culture, of social culture, and the problems and outlook of such a science of culture as is contemplated.

Preliminary inquiries deal with the necessities of the human individual, the levels of belief, and in particular of common sense; the ethos as a culture co-ordinate—meaning thereby the 'implicit dominant ontology' of a social group; and the reformulation of the field and main aspects of ethnology in the light of these notions—not new, but more clearly expressed than by many ethnologists. Cultural types are classified—four 'early' types, 'infra-primitive' (known only from material relics of extinct societies), 'primitive,' 'martial,' and 'religious'; and three 'advanced,' namely 'civilized,' 'scientific,' and 'ultra-scientific'—the last-named still in the future. Each type has its characteristic institutions and criteria of proficiency—'How communal are you?' 'how obedient?' 'how devout?' 'how personal are your feelings?' 'how inquisitive?' 'how complete in universal interest and sympathy?'

On this statistical analysis follows examination of the movement of cultures, how they originate, change and develop, decline and die. The question is involved of the value of any culture, expressed in what it hands on to the progress of human advance as a whole. 'The purpose of culture is to actualize value in both its particular and its symbolic aspects' (p. 156). Cultures, though lacking in many of the qualities and properties of the individual human organism, and possessing others that it lacks, are actual organizations, having a certain life-span, and living dialectically in actuality, in the same way as Dr. Feibleman holds that such abstract qualities as beauty have actual existence. Occasions for the origin of cultures are always the accidents which precipitate the acceptance of an implicit dominant ontology, more or less unconsciously, by the members of a social group: such accidents are physical movements bringing peoples into contact or overlap, or changes in the psychological environment, that is, in individual minds; the discovery of a new leading principle, or a new method of enquiry. Confucian morality in China, or empiricism in Renaissance Europe. This leads Dr. Feibleman to an interesting review of Vico, Spengler, and Toynbee (pp. 171-9).

The illustrative 'Studies in Early Culture' (ch. 8-11) deals with the relics of prehistoric societies, with Maya grammar, Pueblo culture, the Baiga of Central India, Chinese culture and its philosophies, Muslim failure to accept Greek culture, and (rather unexpectedly at this stage) the continuity of culture in the United States, with an interesting analysis of its postulates, some derived from English empirical philosophy and the French Encyclopaedists, some—the 'truth of workability' and the 'sanctity of material success'—partly due to experience of a vast exploitable domain (the 'frontier' outlook), partly to mutual tolerance among fellow-citizens of diverse antecedents. The incongruity of some of them is noted, but the continuity of the hybrid ontology which has emerged is emphasized. Men are capable of doing only what they believe it is right to do. An interesting side issue here is the 'mythology' of modern science which neglects certain values in its quest of abstractions, but risks attributing emotional value to those abstractions themselves, as when a mathematician speaks of a 'beautiful' equation—or a Chancellor of the Exchequer has a 'song in his heart' during an economic crisis. This Neo-Pythagorean emphasis—this 'febrile language'—is condemned as a form of primitivism (p. 260): it hinders the advancement of knowledge by objective scientific method. The relation of this interesting section to what precedes and follows is not very clear, but it is a valuable contribution to the whole theory.

As an example of an 'advanced culture' we are confronted with an original and candid estimate of the English. The 'postulates' of English culture are, of course, not the culture itself, but they condition and are regarded as explaining it. For the presentation of English culture in detail, reference must be made to the book itself: it may be said, however,

that it is singularly free from the obsessions common in American writings. The 'theorems' are illustrated by episodes in English history and by leading English institutions, and the English common sense and ethos. Insular humour, sometimes unconscious, is illustrated by a newspaper headline — 'Storm over Channel: Continent isolated'; and an epilogue analyses English 'realism' as revealed in the philosophers. Values have being, over and above those particular acts which are performed in their name. They had existed before, and they could always exist again.

The proof of a theory is in its conformity to facts, and its elucidation of them. The examination of this process fills the last part of this book, and expresses Dr. Feibleman's approach to mind-training, and psycho-analysis: for 'the efficacy of express philosophy consists in what principles it can lay down for the guidance of common sense'; and the first task of the common-sense analyst is to analyse himself, by a method 'for improving the knowledge of those who are averagely well, whereas psycho-analysis treats the mentally sick.' Similarly, a 'theory of human culture' must be a guide to the development of cultures: ontology has a 'role of action': even 'a good dreamer is a power in the world' (p. 328). 'Action takes place from feeling based on an anterior rationality,' and the 'primary purpose of philosophy is the improvement of the sub-conscious.' This leads to an

exhilarating epilogue on 'philosophy in a time of troubles,' and on the possibility of a 'science of culture' (ch. 14).

As to the outlook for this science, Dr. Feibleman is rightly confident. The fiction, as he sees it, that social studies are not susceptible to scientific treatment, results from the German philo-sophical distinction between *Naturwissenschaften* and *Geisteswissenschaften*. This subjectivist dogma he holds to be entirely erroneous. All sciences are alike empirical and 'natural,' equally objective and normative. Science never attempts to say what is to be done, only what ought to be done to attain a given end. But human beings can add a third factor to the factors of law and environment, for they can control and modify the environment. At the social level, more can be done with science than at lower levels. Students of social science have made the mistake of collecting large masses of data in the hope that a hypothesis would emerge. This however is not how the physical sciences have advanced. 'A science wants to know how the smallest facts fit its largest theories.' What is needed is a fresh method of approach.

This is a fresh and stimulating approach to Human Culture. The book is far from easy, but is well worth study, and abounds in suggestive observations. It will be interesting to see how Dr. Feibleman fares in his applications of the method he recommends.

JOHN L. MYRES

CORRESPONDENCE

The Origin of the Driving Belt. (Cf. MAN, 1947, 52)

122 SIR.—The framing of technological pedigrees is a pastime to be pursued with more discretion and diffidence than Professor Lechler has shown in his attempt to establish the origin of the driving belt (MAN, 1947, 52). The single-line pedigree is no more easily to be attained in technology than in the animal kingdom—in both spheres the maypole has long been superseded by the genealogical tree. The evolution of all but the simpler types of mechanism has been largely dependent upon the transfer of devices and structural features from one existing appliance to another (cross-mutation). The material sources which suggested the transfers are not, or are very rarely, available to us, and the exceptional men, the early inventors who conceived the ideas, have left no records. We are therefore only too frequently dependent upon conjecture, but we must not be too lavish with our guesses.

Taking for granted the shooting bow, with its flexible stave, whose elasticity is the essence of its function, and whose string is taut in use, Professor Lechler derives from it the much smaller bow of the bow-drill, whose stave is necessarily rigid, and whose string or thong must be slack enough to form a closed loop round the drill. The only common feature of the two kinds of bow, is that the cord is attached at each end to the curved stave: there is obviously no similarity in their manner of use, and no association in the activities they subserve. It would seem more probable that any connexion that occurred, as is likely enough, was effected through the mediation of the thong-drill, which, like the bow-drill, works by means of a loop of the thong or cord passing round the drill, and having a 'handle' at each end. The shooting bow may have suggested the substitution of the two ends of a curved stick for the handles, but this is conjecture only. The existence of the thong-drill has been ignored by Professor Lechler.

We may accept without demur the transition from the bow-drill working vertically to the ancient and more recent 'fiddle-bow' lathe or drill working horizontally, but what shall we say to the jump from the latter to the pole-lathe? In this the cord is tied to a flexible stave projecting outwards from an attachment overhead, passing downwards to a treadle, and in its course looping round the shaft of the cutting component. There is no bow at work here, and if we hark back to the flexible stave of the shooting bow, it is only because the elasticity of wood (bow-staves of other material are not relevant to the issue) plays an essential part in the

action of the lathe also: the looping of the cord is, as we have just noted, as characteristic of the thong-drill as of the bow-drill. Finally, since a two-man lathe, worked with a free cord, as in the thong-drill, is recorded from the Far East (e.g., Japan), the bow and the bow-drill are intruders in the series; only the pole-lathe remains, for what it is worth.

So far it is clear that Professor Lechler has taken short cuts, and he now makes a giant's stride from the pole-lathe (or rather from its cord) to the driving belt which is his objective. As everyone knows, this is an endless cord or band having no fixed attachments, and being functionally associated with the wheel (sometimes appearing as a pulley): when the 'belt' is in the (almost certainly original) form of a cord, it may, rarely, cross itself at one point, but this does not produce a tight loop as in the other cords so far considered. In its working the fundamental feature of the driving cord is that it produces a continuous rotation in one direction, as opposed to the reciprocating, and therefore intermittent, action of the pole-lathe. When the endless driving cord was first hit upon there were no doubt already in existence appliances that worked by uni-directional rotation, though this was not effected by means of a cord: the spindle is the most significant of these appliances from the present point of view.

It is clear that the differences between the looped cords—in their attachments, in their associations, in the kind of rotation they effect—and the relevant characters and action of the endless driving belt, are too great for the change from one to the other to have been made by a simple cross-mutation in an appliance already in use, and material evidence of transitional appliances is wanting. As a speculation, however, it may be suggested that the earliest type of spinning wheel, or more probably one of its progenitors, may have been closely concerned, since here continuous rotation was essential, and was in all probability already operative in the use of the simple hand-spindle. As far as I know, no satisfactory theory has ever been put forward to solve the evolutionary technological problems involved, and Professor Lechler has done no more than strain at the obvious and swallow the obscure.

As final and fatal proof of the author's cool and uncalculated disregard of the significance to be attached to form, structure, and mechanism when framing 'evolutionary series', Professor Lechler has added a rider—an over-rider even—to his series. In a genealogical table at the end of his article, he places the bow at the head of three lines of descent, leading respectively to stringed instruments, to the crossbow, and to

the driving belt. This is in part meagrely orthodox, and in part, as we have seen, idiosyncratic in its insufficiency. At the head of this table, posing as the ancestor, through the bow, of all the others, is, of all incongruous things, that unassuming, stringless and inelastic weapon, the spear-thrower (*atlatl*)! What this and the piano, for example, are doing together *dans cette galère*, the creator (of the pedigree) alone knows: thus from a tree without a trunk he has made a table without a leg to stand on.

The length of this letter is probably, Sir, already straining your forbearance, but I hope you will allow me to end it with a few irrelevant questions which Professor Lechler answers in his own way, and which readers may like to answer in theirs. Are the Australian aborigines a 'group of mankind with close affinity to Neandertal or primeval man'? Is it a fact that 'in the New Stone Age the [stone-bladed] battle-axe became so common in Europe that this period was often called the battle-axe age'? What is the evidence that sticks of 'elderberry wood' (with sand) are, or were ever, used to bore cylindrical holes in stone implements, and is it the case that 'the softer the wood' used in boring stone 'the better the grinding'? Why use the term 'fire-twirl' for the two-stick fire-drill, and allow the bow-drill to monopolise the term fire-drill, to the exclusion also of the thong-drill and the pump-drill? Is a mouthpiece an essential part of the Eskimo bow-drill or of the thong-drill only? Finally, does it convey a sober and scientific impression to write of 'harts-horn-tipped arrows'?

H. S. HARRISON

Stone Implements from Alberta. *Illustrated*

123 SIR.—The four double-bitted quartzite axes, or hoes, shown in fig. 1, together with two others of exactly the same pattern, were turned up by the plough on heavy cultivated land, on a patch about ten miles square within about twenty miles of the city of Edmonton, capital of the Province of Alberta, Canada. The right-hand upper one is six inches long. In approximately the same area were found two very large quartzite side scrapers each of them ten inches long. One face of these was flat in each case and one edge nicely chipped to a fairly sharp edge, while the other edge was left much thicker and steeper. These scrapers would appear to be akin to the Mousterian scrapers of Europe. In addition to the above there were two large circular knives six inches in diameter chipped to a thin edge all round. These were not more than about three quarters of an inch thick at the middle. One was made of light purplish quartzite and the other of white massive quartz or quartzite, while others of circular or oval or ovate shape are graduated in size down to two and



FIG. 1.—QUARTZITE AXES OR HOES FROM ALBERTA

a half inches in diameter. Some of them were chipped from white quartz with brilliant red patches.

This whole quartzite industry seemed large in size and the chipping clever, considering the coarse material.

Some smaller tools, such as arrow heads and scrapers (fig. 2), are made from brown translucent chalcedony, but this finer

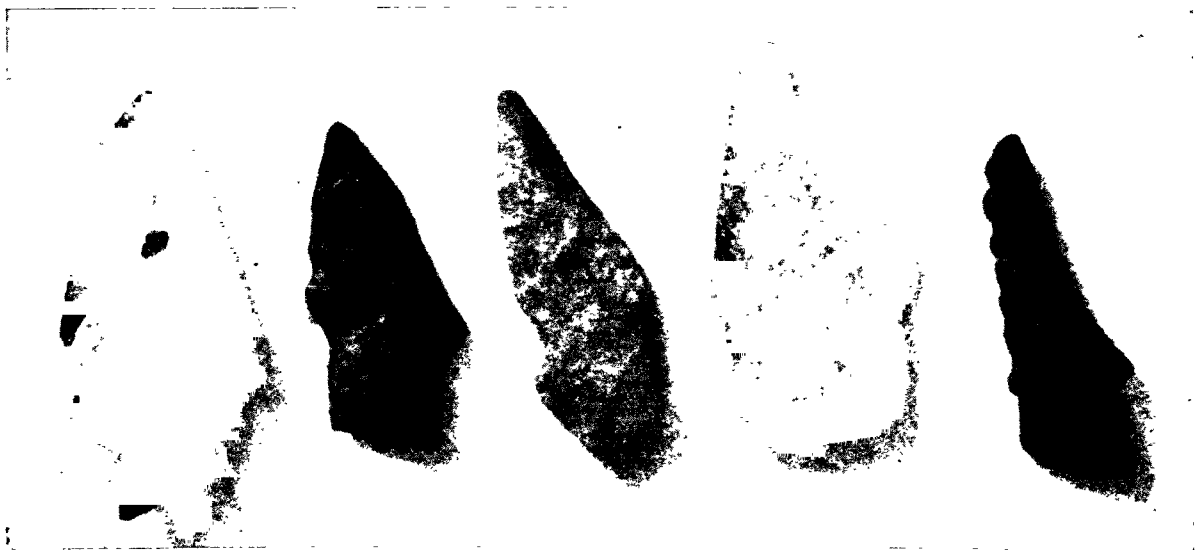


FIG. 2.—ARROW HEADS AND SCRAPERS FROM ALBERTA

material is not found in this country in pieces large enough to make the larger tools.

Among the smaller tools are five of very peculiar appearance. Four are made from brown chalcedony and one of white material.

When laid flat-side-down, with the points away from you, the carefully chipped cutting edge is seen to be on the right. Each of them has a tang for attachment to a handle, and when so attached the cutting edge is at an angle to the handle. For this reason I have called them 'oblique knives' and they are similar to some of the ten varieties of 'oblique knives' shown in *The Stone Age on the Prairies*, a copy of which is in the library of the Royal Anthropological Institute. These five, however, seem to be left-handed tools, similar to the only left-handed one shown in the plates of the above book, p. 88, in the upper left-hand corner.

There is in the *British Museum Guide* a picture of four variant types of these strange tools. They come from Japan and resemble some from Texas, U.S.A.
Regina, Sask.

W. J. ORCHARD

Japanese Whaling

124 SIR,—I have recently had my attention drawn to the following description of whaling off the island of Ooshima, east of Shiomisaki, in Japan [approximately 33° 30' N., 135° 50' E.]. The description itself, written by Rev. R. B. Grinnan and originally published in the *Japan Mail*, is quoted in Murray's *Handbook for Japan* (1903 edition, p. 252). To quote Grinnan in full would be superfluous, but perhaps this summary might be of interest.

The *modus operandi* is as follows: Men with glasses are posted on mountains. When the whale is first sighted they signal by means of fire and flags to the boats below, which move out and place nets across the whale's path in such a

manner that he may be driven into them and trapped. Some of the boats move out behind him and open the attack with harpoons, while others so arrange themselves as to prevent the animal's escape. Eventually, when he is weakened by harpoons and stones hurled by as many as three hundred men, but before he is actually dead, a man with a sharp knife leaps on to the whale's back near his head, slashes two great holes and passes a large rope several times through the flesh, leaving a loop outside. Similar loops are made near the tail. The purpose of the operation is to secure the whale between two boats lest he sink. Thus he is carried in triumph to the shore. The cutting of the holes in the whale's back demands great skill and courage: the man chosen for the job must go down with the animal when he dives, for should he let go he will almost certainly be killed by a vicious stroke of the tail.

At the end of the struggle, when the whale is dying, the whalers pray for the ease of the departing spirit in a low deep tone of voice. After three days a memorial service is held. If a baby whale is captured, a special *Matsuri* (festival) is held on the ninth day after the event. As soon as the whale is landed, he is cut up with feverish excitement. Everybody strips off his clothing, while some cut holes and go bodily into the whale, emerging 'all covered with blood, looking like red devils.' The whales caught average 50 ft. long.

With this account it is amusing to compare the following excerpt from the *Japan Advertiser* (3 October, 1941) quoted by John Morris in his book, *Traveller from Tokyo*: 'The Nichiro Gyogyo Kaisha, which kills for canning purposes large numbers of salmon every year, held its annual ceremony, in the Company Board Rooms, at 11 a.m., Thursday, for the repose of the souls of the salmon. Following the ceremony, the staff of the Company was given a holiday for the rest of the day.'

Emmanuel College, Cambridge

PETER LAWRENCE

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SCIENCES THIRD SESSION, BRUSSELS, 1948

First Circular, June, 1947

125 At the last meeting of the Permanent Council of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, held in Oxford, April, 1946, it was decided that the next session of the Congress would be held in Prague in August, 1947. Our Czechoslovak colleagues have found it impossible to hold the Congress at the time stipulated and do not venture to engage themselves for any date in the near future.

Since, on the one hand, the general opinion of those present at Oxford was that the Congress should be held at the earliest date possible, and since, on the other hand, Belgium had invited the Congress for 1948, the Officers of the Permanent Council, having been given full authority to act in any emergency, have decided to accept the official invitation of Belgium. Therefore the next session of our Congress will be held in Belgium (Brussels and Tervuren) during the second half of August, 1948. The Brussels Congress will be held under the auspices of the Belgian Ministers of Foreign Affairs, of Colonies, and of Public Education. All important Belgian scientific bodies and institutions have pledged their cordial support and collaboration.

The Belgian Executive Committee has been constituted as follows:

President: Professor Ed. De Jonghe, General Secretary, Royal Belgian Colonial Institute;

Secretary: Professor Frans M. Olbrechts, University of Ghent;

Treasurer: Professor Fr. Twiesselmann, University of Brussels;

Members: Professor Jacques Breuer, University of Liège;
Rev. Father P. Charles, Member of the Board of Trustees, Colonial University, Antwerp;

Dr. Henri Lavachery, Chief Curator, Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels;

Professor Georges Smets, University of Brussels;
Director of the Solvay Institute of Sociology, Brussels;

Professor E. Van Campenhout, University of Louvain.

Please address all correspondence to the Secretary, Frans M. Olbrechts, c/o Musée du Congo Belge, Tervuren, Belgium.

The fee will be Belg. Francs 350 (£2: \$8) and will entitle members to many touristic and social facilities.

Members who intend to submit papers may from now on send in the titles of these to the Secretary. Except in special cases, the time allotted to every paper will be twenty minutes, plus another twenty minutes for discussion. Please state if slides will be used. In due time further circulars will be issued, giving full information as to the Sections of the Congress, the possibilities of accommodation in Brussels, the easiest way of remitting the fee, etc.

The Belgian Committee will do its utmost to make this Third Session, from both a scientific and a social point of view, worthy of its two predecessors, in London (1934) and in Copenhagen (1938). The Committee cordially invites anthropologists, ethnologists, sociologists, prehistorians and archaeologists, folklorists of all nations and all those who take a scientific interest in any of the social sciences, to come to Brussels and Tervuren to attend the Third Session of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.

On behalf of the Officers
of the Permanent Council:

JOHN L. MYRES,
H. J. FLEURE,
KAJ BIRKET-SMITH

On behalf of the Belgian
Executive Committee:

ED. DE JONGHE, President
FRANS M. OLBRECHTS,
Secretary

PLATE I



FIG. 1.—THE PLANTA HOUSE AT SAMIEDAN

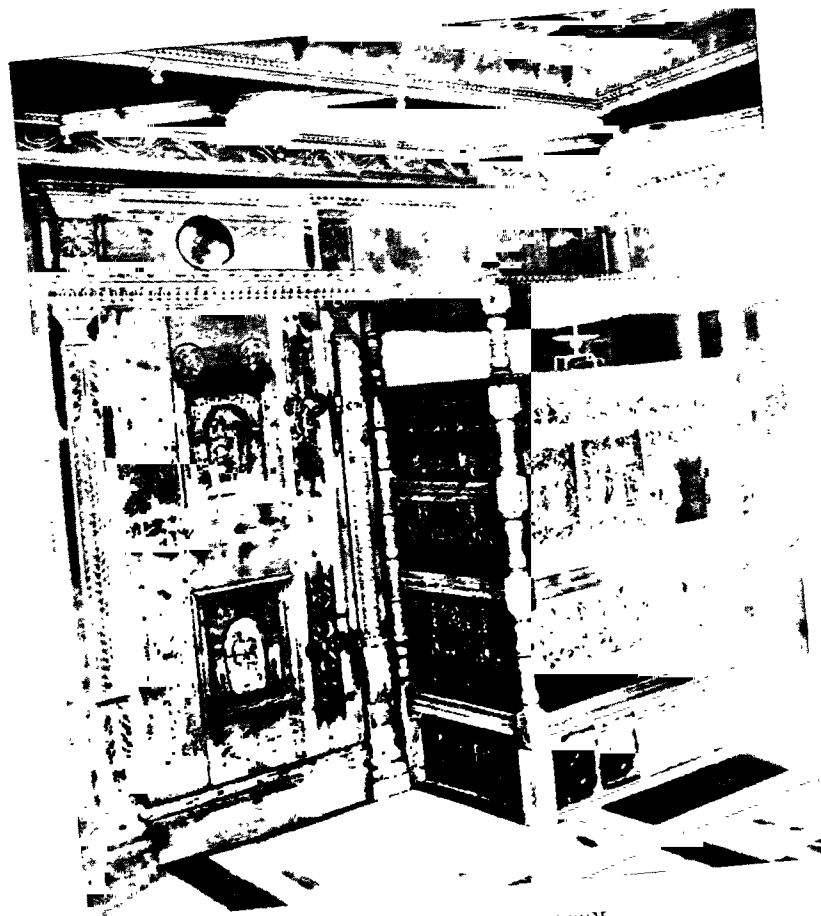


FIG. 2.—THE BAROQUE ROOM

A CENTRE OF RAETO-ROMANIC CULTURE IN THE ENGADINE

MAN

A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
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SEPTEMBER, 1947

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

A CENTRE OF RAETO-ROMANIC CULTURE IN THE ENGADINE. By Dr. Jon Pult, *Fundaziun Planta, Samedan, Switzerland.* With Plate I

126 Raeto-Romance, the least known of Switzerland's four national languages, still exists in a few mountain valleys of the Grisons from the St. Gotthard to the frontiers of Tyrol (and beyond them to the Dolomites and in Friaul north-east of Venice). It is the only exclusively Alpine language, and leads a solitary existence between the German-speaking culture in the north and the Italian-speaking in the south.

Anyone who wanders through the Raetian valley is not struck only by the changeful scenery : at every step he comes across rare ways of life in the working methods of the people, in rare customs or in ancient democratic habits. The most striking feature is the architecture of the Raetian villages and houses. The stately Engadine house is regarded as one of the finest types of dwelling in Switzerland. The lay-outs of villages such as Guarda and Zuoz (where the well-known Lyceum Alpinum is situated) impress every outside visitor by their compactness and purity of style.

The most peculiar feature of all, however, is the Raeto-Romance language with its numerous dialect variants in the different valleys, which are partly Roman Catholic and partly Protestant. There was no common centre after the fifteenth century, when Chur, or Coire, the capital of the Grisons, became German-speaking, and for this reason two literary languages developed : Sursilvan in the Rhine valley and Ladin in the Engadine and in the Muenster valley. Each of these districts evolved its own distinct manner of living. Nowadays, however, the *Lia Rumantscha* represents all Romance interests and is attempting to combine forces for the maintenance of the language.

Last summer a research institute was founded in the Engadine for the study and promotion of the Raeto-Romance language and culture. The ancient Planta family of Samedan (the chief place of the Upper Engadine, near St. Moritz) has given its splendid ancestral home there for this purpose, as the Planta Foundation. This 'Planta House,' damaged by an American bomb and now restored for its new purpose, possesses a valuable library and a collection of MSS. which is now open for research. Raeto-Romantic literature, which comprises some 4,000 works dating from 1552 to the present, is being collected here as far as possible. Works of reference such as dictionaries, grammars, textbooks, etc., together with the latest publications, are kept in a cheerful reading room. They are intended to stimulate the inhabitants to make use of them, and to give visitors an impression of the Romance peoples of the Grisons. Cultural information about Romance is likewise imparted, and in the beautiful rooms of the house are held meetings, congresses and courses on Raeto-Romantic culture. Objects of ethnographical interest are also being collected in the service of Raetian research and folklore. Under the same roof is the law court of the Upper Engadine, so that the house exercises also a state function.

In the Raeto-Romance library are several documents connected with English cultural circles. The first complete edition of the Bible in Sursilvan, printed in Coire in 1718, contains a four-page dedication to King George I of England, who contributed 50 guineas to the cost of this expensive Bible. By a curious chance the first article on the Raeto-Romance language was written in English and published in London : this is a paper read by Joseph Planta of the Engadine (who later became Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum) to the Royal Society on 10 November, 1775, entitled 'An Account of the Romansh Language.' In it he referred to the donation of a Romance Bible to the Royal Society by the Count de Salis and attempted an outline of the origin, history and existing situation of the language : this paper aroused great interest, and a German translation appeared in Coire only a few months later. In 1800 the same Joseph Planta published a large and well-received *History of the Helvetic Confederacy*, of which a second edition appeared in 1807 ; it was likewise translated into German. The portrait of Joseph Planta which hangs in the Board Room of the British Museum recently inspired the young Raeto-Romantic writer Selina Chönz to write an interesting novelette, *Il putret da l'antenat*, dealing with the life in English surroundings of a native of the Engadine.

The English traveller William Coxe, in his *Travels in Switzerland and in the country of the Grisons* (4th ed., 1801), devoted a special chapter to the 'languages of the Grisons,' speaking in detail about Romansh, its peculiarities, age, origin, dialects, etc.; in the appendix he even gives a small 'Vocabulary of the Romansh of the Upper Engadine' and a list of Raeto-Romanic books.

In spite of the distance from English cultural circles, several works by English and American writers including Shakespeare, Burns, Thomas Moore, Byron, Longfellow, Tennyson, Dickens, Walt Whitman, Francis Thompson and Sara Teasdale have been translated into Raeto-Romance, besides English and Irish folk songs. As translators may be named Caderas, Florian Grand, Peider Lansel, Men Gaudenz and Men Rauch.

Conversely, poems by Raeto-Romance writers have been translated into English. It is the great merit of Mildred Elizabeth Maxfield, an American, to have opened the garden of Raeto-Romanic poets to Americans and English in her excellent thesis, *Studies in Modern Romansh Poetry in the Engadine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), in which she made a profound and critical study of the works of Zaccaria Pallioppi, Gian Fadri Caderas and Peider Lansel in particular, and translated several poems into English. She also published an English translation of Peider Lansel's paper, 'The Raeto Romans,' which can be recommended as the best introduction for those who are new to the subject. In addition she published a *Raeto-Romance Bibliography* with critical remarks (University of North Carolina, 1941). At present she is working on an English translation (London: McKechnie) of the successful Raeto-Romance children's book *Uorsin* by Selina Chönz and Alois Carigiet. Thanks to these works it is now possible for outsiders to obtain a certain insight into a hitherto closed literature.

I may quote two specimens of the poetry of Peider Lansel (1863-1943). The first (translated by M. E. Maxfield) alludes to the mountain spring in the Raetian valleys which comes late and cannot be relied on: woe to the little flowers that come out too soon!

MASSA BOD'

*O sblacha fluoretta,
tu vainesch massa bod!
amo be suletta
at dervasch nil god.*

*At ha ingionada
il debel sulai?
per nossa vallada
amo nun es Mai.*

*La dschêta be spetta
chi vegnâ bainbod,
o sblacha fluoretta
tu vainesch massa bod!*

TOO SOON!

O, pale little flow'ret,
Too soon thou art here!
Alone in the wildwood
And full of vague fear.

The weak sun has mayhap
Betrayed thee with light?
Not yet in our valleys
Is May shuning bright.

The frost is but waiting
For night to appear;
O, pale little flow'ret,
Too soon thou art here!

The second (translated by Watson Kirkconnell) describes how in the grey mists of the lofty mountains the poet beholds an uncanny vision: there is an old tradition in the Engadine that the procession of the dead sometimes appears to a living man, and that the last face in the procession is that of some living person who is soon to die.

LA PROCESSION DALS MORTS

*Eu songiet: un to sulvadi
sul e trist sco our dal muond;
grischa tschicra sun la terra,
nuvel grischa a l'orizont.*

*In la mezza glusch confusa
gniva, stran' appariziun,
da sumbrivas una lingua
mâ gluvronta processiun.*

*Ellas eiran tuot veladas,
ed our suot il nair zindal
misterius ils ogls gluschivan
cun un fraid reflès d'atschal.*

*Davant mai ellas passavan
fraidas, muttas, am guardond
cun l'indefinibl'ogliada
dad un esser moribond.*

*Sun la fin, cur ch'eu tratgnair
nu podet plu ma suldâm,
schî vèzzet, tratt'aint da nair,
a passar ma juventum'*

THE MARCH OF THE DEAD

I dreamed a dream: I seemed to wait
In some wild spot where all things wept:
The face of earth was grey as fate;
Grey clouds along the sky-line slept.

And through the midst of that dim land
There marched in vision endless hosts—
With pallid sight I stood and scanned
A dark processional of ghosts.

Their visages were veiled, but still
Like gold beneath black silk did dwell
Mysterious eyes, ablaze yet chill
With agonizing hints of hell.

They passed before me like a breath,
Their glittering glance was cold and dry—
As indefinable as death
That gazes from a dead man's eye.

At last I woke in broken tears,
Unable to endure their tread,
And sadly saw my youthful years
Pass darkly like the marching dead.

For a long time there were people who saw the Raeto-Romance language as already marching in this procession of the dead. It is true that this Alpine language has been more or less relegated to the background by the development of tourism and penetration by German- and Italian-speaking settlers. Yet the desire has always persisted to maintain this interesting language, and in 1938 the whole of the Swiss people accepted Raeto-Romance as the fourth national language, thus giving voice to their wish that it should not die out, even if spoken only by 45,000 Swiss. In recent years the *Lia Rumantscha* has by great efforts issued modern dictionaries, grammars and schoolbooks and has promoted literary production. In quite recent times it has established Raeto-Romantic infants' schools in the districts between the Surselva and the Engadine where the tongue is in most danger with the object of thoroughly assimilating children speaking other languages. This practical measure has turned out to be highly efficacious. The child will decide the future of the language.

The newly created institution in the 'Planta House' is not intended to be a mere dry museum of Raeto-Romantic cultural treasures, but a 'smithy and forge' on which to work for the maintenance and development of Raeto-Romance.

NOTES ON MOROTAI ISLAND CANOES. By Karl Schmitt, Chicago, Ill. Illustrated

127 While stationed on Morotai Island of the Halmahera Group, Netherlands East Indies, during the spring of 1945, I had the opportunity to make notes on three large and four model canoes. Although the exact dimensions of the canoes were not obtained, sketches showing in detail the inter-relationship of the various component parts were made. Unfortunately I was not able to gain access to any of the local villages or obtain any information from native informants. In the description of the canoes which is to follow, the terminology of Haddon will be used (see 'The Outriggers of Indonesian Canoes,' *J.R.A.I.*, 50 (1920), pp. 69-135).

Fig. 1 consists of diagrammatic representations of the major features of one large canoe. This canoe was the property of a major stationed with a United States Army hospital located on Dehegila Point of the extreme southern portion of Morotai Island. The major reported that he had purchased the canoe from natives who had sailed it over to Morotai from nearby Halmahera Island. Approximate dimensions were: length eighteen feet, width amidship three feet and length of outrigger float thirteen feet.

The general outline and construction of the hull are shown in *a* and *j*. Basically the canoe was built up from a shallow dugout by the addition of two tiers of planks and insertion of stem and stern posts. As a single plank was not long enough to reach from one end of the canoe to the other, it was necessary to join short planks together by scalloping the ends so that they interlocked and then to fasten them together with wooden pegs through the joint. Since the top tier of planks rested on the lower tier it was possible to see the wooden pegs only on the top tier. The stem and stern posts were solid pieces of wood inlaid, as it were, and presumably pegged to the planks and the dugout section of the hull in the manner indicated in *b*. The top planks at the bow were carved in scallops so that they tightly overlapped the stem post.

The two outrigger booms were attached to the hull in the manner shown in *j*. Here the boom was laid on top of a piece of wood, the boom support, set into notches cut into the top tier of planks of the hull. A thin strip of bamboo was placed on top of the boom and then all were lashed securely to the hull by means of a bone-shaped support (which in turn was lashed to knobs projecting from the bottom tier of planks) and by lashing to a wooden peg wedged under knobs projecting from the dugout section of the hull. Here the bone-shaped support appeared to be the key piece, as the bottom peg and the boom itself were held in place only by the stability of the bone-shaped support. The three-piece wooden affair lashed to the boom assembly as shown in *j* occurred only in the forward boom, and was reported by the owner to have been a rest for a furled sail. A side view showing the curvilinear carving on one of the upright units of the sail rest is shown in *c*.

The attachment of the outrigger floats to the booms is shown in *i* and *k*. Here a curved spar (hatched in the diagram) and two longitudinal spars were lashed to each other and to the float so that the whole assemblage was quite rigid.

Three board seats shown in *d*, *e*, and *f* were lashed to projections from the top tier of boards in the bow, centre and stern of the canoe. The holes for the lashings were sunk in grooves. Each knob-like projection from the hull had only one drilled hole. The bow seat had a rounded section cut from the front centre and it was reported that the mast had fitted against this. The rear seat had a hollowed-out rectangular slot and it was reported that a board had fitted into this slot so that the stern end of the canoe was partially covered. Beneath each of the three seats was a bone-shaped wooden support (identical with the one shown in *j*) lashed to the lower tier of boards by means of cords passed around the knobs of the support and through holes in projections from the planks. These bone-like supports had no holes in them

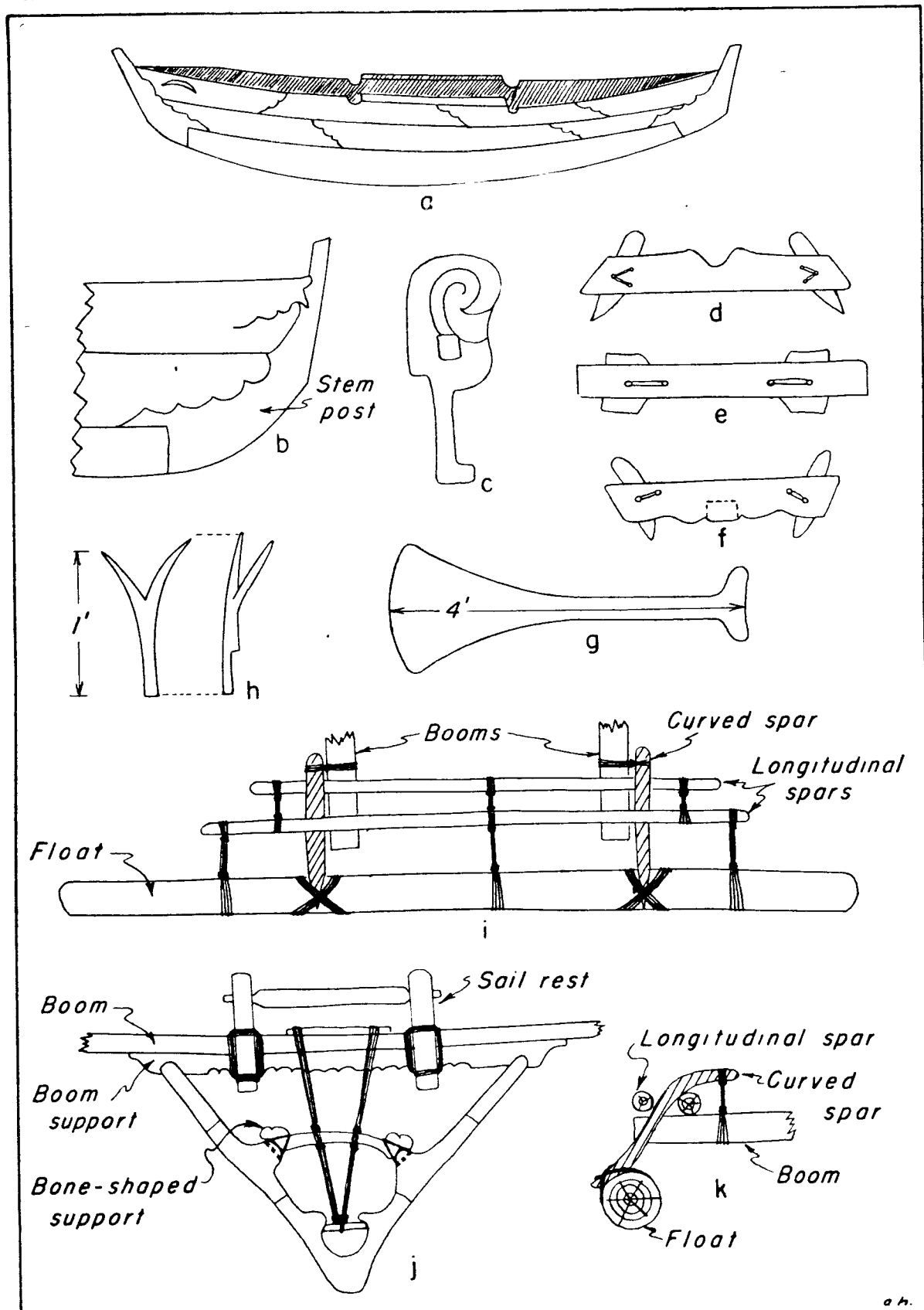


FIG. 1. MOROTAI CANOES
(Not to scale)

Additional features of the canoe were planks added to the hull between the outrigger booms to serve as wash-strakes, scalloped carving on the boom supports, two natural forked sticks (shown in *h*) which were lashed one to each boom on the port side and a crescent-shaped groove cut into the top plank on the starboard rear of the canoe. The forked sticks were probably used for fishing gear, while the groove may have served some steering purpose or may have been a decoration connected with the Mohammedan religion. An outline of two paddles reported to have

been chased from natives who had sailed it over from Halmahera Island. In most major features this canoe was similar to the one shown in fig. 1. The one important difference, that of direct insertion of the curved spar into the outrigger float instead of attachment by lashing, is shown in fig. 2, *a, b*. Haddon says that the spar in the Halmaheran type is lashed to the boom above and to the float below. The direct insertion of the spar in this case differentiates it from the Halmaheran type. Other features, such as the method of tying the outrigger booms to the hull, the

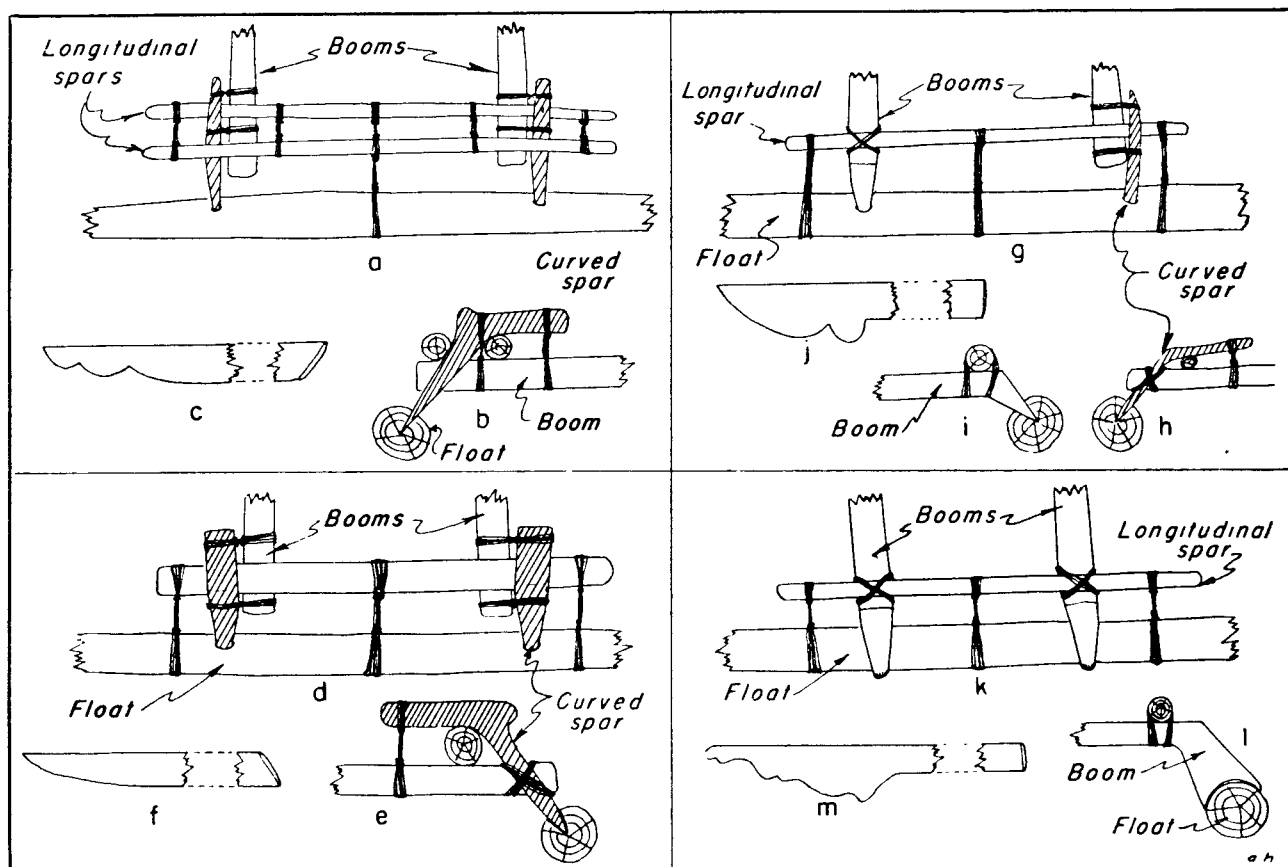


FIG 2 MOROTAI CANOES
(Not to scale)

come with the canoe is shown in *g*. All lashings were of a cord made from twisted fibre, perhaps coconut fibre. Cracks between the planks were caulked with wadded fibrous material.

A second large canoe which appeared to be identical with the first in hull construction, method of outrigger attachment and approximate size was seen at Nica village, the Dutch administrative headquarters on Morotai.

The third large canoe which I was able to examine was also seen on Dehegila Point and like the first was reported by its soldier owner to have been pur-

chased from natives who had sailed it over from Halmahera Island. In most major features this canoe was similar to the one shown in fig. 1. The one important difference, that of direct insertion of the curved spar into the outrigger float instead of attachment by lashing, is shown in fig. 2, *a, b*. Haddon says that the spar in the Halmaheran type is lashed to the boom above and to the float below. The direct insertion of the spar in this case differentiates it from the Halmaheran type. Other features, such as the method of tying the outrigger booms to the hull, the

each side of the canoe. The forward ends of the outrigger floats were somewhat flattened and crudely carved as shown in fig. 2, *c*.

In fig. 2, *d*, *e*, *f*, are shown the pertinent details of a model canoe purchased by a friend at Nica village. In this specimen the curved spar was lashed to the boom above but inserted into the outrigger float below. This method of attachment differentiates it from the Halmaheran type. The forward ends of the floats were pointed as shown in *f*, while their stern ends were cut off obliquely. The two outrigger booms were attached to the hull by insertion into four holes burnt into the hull.

The model canoe of which the float attachment and float are illustrated in fig. 2, *g*, *h*, *i*, *j*, was obtained by a pilot acquaintance from Ngelengele Island a short distance west of Morotai. A mixed method of attachment was used to affix the floats to the booms. The forward attachments to both the starboard and port floats were by means of direct insertion of downward curves of the booms as shown in *i*. The stern attachments to both floats were by means of curved spars which were lashed to the boom above and inserted into the float below as shown in *h*. The forward ends of the floats were flattened and carved in the manner shown in *j*.

Fig. 2, *k*, *l*, *m*, shows the method of float attachment and the shape of the floats of two model canoes also from Ngelengele Island. In these specimens the outrigger booms were flared downward so that concave depressions fitted over the floats. Apparently the floats were held in place by the tightness of the lashings between them and the single longitudinal spars. The floats of both canoes were flattened on the forward ends and carved in the manner shown in *m*. The booms on both canoes were laid across the hull and tied down to pegs (two to each canoe) which were inserted through opposing holes in the hull. One of these canoes had a raised centre portion of the hull to indicate wash-strokes.

None of the canoes or models had masts or sails at the time of my observations. Once, while flying in a plane near the town of Wajaboela on the coast of west-central Morotai, I noticed a number of canoes with single, rectangular sails set at an angle to the mast. No other details were discernible because of the flight altitude.

Since the method of attachment of floats and outrigger booms has received much attention in the literature, it would be possible to discuss relationships of the attachments of the few canoes observed at Morotai with others in Indonesia. However, as the attachment methods, with the possible exception of the one shown in fig. 2, *k*, *l*, fall within Haddon's classification, and since Haddon has traced their relationships, it would be repetitious to do so again.

Although the data presented here are limited it seems very possible that the canoe type shown in fig. 2, *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*, could have developed from the Halmaheran type of attachment seen in fig. 1. By Haddon's definition (p. 90), since the curved spar is inserted into the float and not lashed, the canoes of fig. 2 cannot be classified as Halmaheran in type. The evident similarity between the first and second large canoes described herein on the one hand, and the third large and the first model canoes on the other (the only major difference being that the curved spar is lashed to the float in the first two and inserted into the float in the last two) indicates a very close relationship between the two forms. Haddon (p. 99) suggests that there is a possible evolutionary sequence from direct insertion of the booms to the Balinese type of attachment to the Halmaheran form. This may have been true in the Morotai area, but it is logically possible that the process may be the reverse of that postulated by Haddon. It was my impression that the form with the curved spar inserted into the outrigger float was more efficient in that there would be less friction with the water than in the Halmaheran type.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

The Continental-European Ethnic and Cultural Composition of the Canadian Nation. *Summary of a Communication read to the Institute by Tracy Phillips, 10 December, 1946*

The Canadian census of 1941 gave the population of the Dominion, in round figures, as eleven and a half million. One of the effects of the processes of immigration and of the ethnic group birthrates has been that less than fifty per cent. of the present population of Canada originates from the so-called Anglo-Saxon stock.

In Canada, until the census of 1921, the Irish and Scots combined had always been more numerous than the English. The elements from the British Isles are: English 2,968,402; Scottish 1,403,974; Irish 1,267,702; Welsh 75,826; total 5,715,904. (In the Canadian

census of 1941, 32,708 persons gave Gaelic as their mother tongue.)

In Canada, more than a fifth but not quite a quarter of the population is 'foreign born,' that is, with one or both parents born abroad. Thus a foreign-born child is regarded as having, in its susceptible years, come under the influence of one or both parents of non-Canadian background. In the neighbouring United States, more than a quarter, but not quite a third, of the population is, in this sense of the word, foreign born.

There were, at this last census in Canada, 3,483,038 Canadian citizens who were British subjects of French origin. These are almost wholly the descendants of the 6,000-seventeenth-century colonists from France. Culturally, this compact community of French stock did not

experience the French Revolution. Most of the Canadian French (excepting the few Celtic families from Brittany) were Normans, with therefore considerable admixture of north-man Nordic stock.

Indigenous Amerindian Canadians are in decline. In 1941, out of Canada's population of 11½ millions, there remained only 125,521 Amerindians and Eskimos.

Background of Canada's Ethnic and Cultural Development

Cabot saw the eastern coast of Canada in 1497. But Jacques Cartier, sea captain born in 1491 in St. Malo opposite the Channel Islands (whence he brought many of his seamen), can claim with more substance to be the European 'Discoverer of Canada.' He was the first European who thrust his way into the interior and placed his discoveries on record. The French, who were also discovering and settling Louisiana (called after Louis XIV) and New Orleans, took possession of Canada in 1534. Under France, *New France* it was from 1534 to 1759. As early as the 1750s, nearly a quarter of the 'European' population of Canada were town-dwellers. Today the French-speaking Province of Quebec has a percentage of urban population higher than any other province of Canada. And the French-Canadian people have recently 'refused to form an ethnic party to meet an ethnic challenge.'

The Newer Canadians from Continental Europe

In the Americas, the great ethnic, social and cultural communities now in partial and rapid progress of new national integration, ranged themselves, and were most easily recognizable, by their *language* groups. 'The hand and language: here is humanity.' In the Middle West prairie provinces of Canada, it did not take long to recognize the intimate relationship that language signifies between the cultivated man and the cult. In the crucial period between the two recent World Wars, the British and Foreign Bible Society's office in Winnipeg sold the scriptures locally in fifty different European languages. Equally recently the great liberal newspaper *The Winnipeg Free Press* printed its New Year greetings each January 1st in 67 different languages, the number known to be spoken among its readers. During World War II, Canadian listeners, lacking any Canadian broadcasts in their mother tongues, could listen to an adjacent, commercial transmitting station in Detroit (touching Canada) which had continued for eleven years to broadcast locally in eleven European languages.

Last year the British *Christian News Letter* stated that, in England, 'nine out of ten persons have no commitment to any branch of the organized Church, and hardly any acquaintance with the simplest facts about Christianity.' In another part of North America, in the neighbouring United States, two-thirds of the population are stated not to belong actively to any Church. But in Canada, so far, the non-English Canadian communities from Europe, headed by those from France, tend to cling to their Christianity, to be grouped around their Churches, which are a unifying influence, and not to abandon their religious practices. There is a diversity within unity as each brings the culture-contribution of his ethnic or language group towards the composition of a united Canadian nation.

The numerical strengths of the main ethnic or cultural stocks of Canada, arranged in order of numerical importance, are: (1) French, (2) English, (3) Scottish, (4) Irish, (5) German, (6) Ukrainian, (7) Scandinavian, (8) Netherlands, mainly Germanic Mennonites, (9) Jewish, (10) Polish.

An annexed statistical table showed, respectively according to ethnic origin, the comparative call of the countryside and the drift to the towns. Of the 19 ethnic groups detailed, approximately the three most rural are shown to be Canadians of Finnish origin, 80 per cent. of whom are on the land; of Netherlands origin (mainly Mennonites who have registered as 'Dutch'), 77 per cent.; of Ukrainians ('Galicians' whose forbears were never Russian or Soviet subjects), 76 per cent. The three most urban groups are shown to be Jewish (middlemen), 91 per cent.; Hungarians (artisans), 57 per cent.; British Isles origins, 51 per cent.

Four of the main ethnic or cultural groups of Canadians of continental European origins were dealt with in some detail (with figures in support) in order to illustrate four differing types of the amalgam from which the nation is being composed, namely those of French, Jewish, Ukrainian and German origins. An indication of the wealth and diversity of the European cultural assets at the disposal of an evolving Canadian nation is to be seen in the existence in Canada of 75 newspapers published in 18 European languages other than French or English. (In the United States there are well over a thousand.)

General Observations

From the time when the Romans withdrew from Britain to the time when the very varied and even conflicting ethnic elements in England had developed (under one cult in the comparative isolation of an island) an amalgam and mode of life different enough from England's neighbours to make them *feel* that they were different, and for a national consciousness (that is, for a nation) to emerge, it took a thousand years and a Hundred Years' War abroad. In the Americas, the naturalizing and 'nationizing' process is being synthetically speeded up towards the current concept of nation, nationality and nationalism.

To anyone familiar with the Nationality and Minority complexes of East-Central and South-Eastern Europe, where historic hatreds and vicious vendettas and artificially conflicting cultures assume religious intensity in proportion as automatic assimilation or economic discrimination is forcibly attempted, it is instructive to observe, among these same Europeans newly come into the Americas, the speed with which, in a comparative geographic isolation with a community of language, a fair tolerance and a liberal spirit can create a cloak of union linking the ethnic and cultural diversities themselves. Economic well-being is not, however, in the long run automatically equivalent to human happiness; and to write thus the history of man as an automaton would be to reduce both science and the drama of human institutions to a parody.

Tibetan, Toda and Tiya Polyandry. *Summary of an Illustrated Lecture to the Institute by H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece, C.B., 27 May 1947*

In an introduction, the lecturer thanked his fellow members of the Institute for having accepted his proposal for this talk as, he said, he was in need of constructive criticism and questioning to carry on with his work. He warned the audience that he had taken up anthropology in an attempt to marry it usefully with modern psychoanalytical findings. Field work, which followed studies with the late Professor Bronislaw Malinowski, was carried out in the Himalayas and India in 1937-39 but was unfortunately interrupted by the outbreak of war. Thus no notes had so far been published, but with the

picking up again of the threads of civilian occupation they might be so soon.

Prince Peter then gave an illustrated ethnographical account of the marital customs of the Tibetans of Ladak (Western Tibet). He explained and commented on the genealogy of a particularly representative family. Different forms of marriage (*baqma*, *maypa*) were gone into as well as details concerning betrothal, initiation, cohabitation, morality, jealousy, extra-marital relations and divorce. The existence of the *chamadung* was revealed, that is, a woman who, in Central Tibet, is legally married to both fathers and sons after the mother of the latter is dead.

Toda polyandry was next explained, again with the help of slides including a genealogy, and shown to differ radically from the preceding variety.

The lecturer regretted that he was unable to study the Tiyas of Malabar (Southern India) more than superficially because of the outbreak of hostilities. These people seem, however, to be remarkable for the fact that they are simultaneously polyandrous and matrilineal.

In a conclusion, the psychoanalytical and ethnological results of the expedition were given, stress being laid on the ethnological. The considerations of earlier workers were set forth and refutations of these were attempted. The local peoples' own explanations of their marital customs were then taken up and made the essential part of a psychoanalytical working hypothesis formulated by the speaker. In his own words, polyandry is a 'not necessarily primitive institutional form of marriage, due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and insecure economical conditions, and persisting through isolation (with the Tibetans) or as part of a defence mechanism (with the Todas).'

A film of the funeral ceremonies at the burial of a Toda woman was shown at the end of the talk.

The Santals of Western Bengal. *Summary of a paper read to the Institute by the Rev. W. J. Culshaw, 3 June, 1947*

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The Santals, who number over two and a half million people, are widely distributed in Bihar, Orissa, Bengal and Assam, but everywhere their social organization and way of life conform to a single pattern. In West Bengal they live in the poorest parts of the province.

The houses of a Santal village are usually built on both sides of a street running from east to west. In most cases the only non-Santal inhabitants are blacksmiths, for the Santals do no iron work. The chief families in

the village generally belong to the same clan. Traditionally the tribe was divided into twelve clans, but only eleven are extant. They are patrilineal, totemic and exogamous and are divided into innumerable sub-clans. The human race is descended from a pair of human beings who emerged from goose eggs, and one of the clans retains a name suggesting descent from the goose, which is taboo for its members. The mythological basis of clan divisions exerts a powerful influence over the actions and attitudes of all Santals.

In each village there are seven officials: (i) the headman, (ii) the headman's deputy, (iii) the guardian of morals, a kind of 'monitor' responsible for the behaviour of the unmarried young men, (iv) the deputy guardian of morals, (v) the messenger, (vi) the village priest and (vii) co-priest. The first five offices are hereditary (though in any matter concerning the whole village the officials do not act without the approval of the village council, a gathering of the adult male population); the two priests are appointed by the spirits. The former sacrifices to the tribal spirits at village festivals in the sacred grove of *sal* trees (*Shorea robusta*, Cartn.) lying to the west of the village. The co-priest, whose name means 'priest of the back of the houses,' makes offerings of drops of his own blood to the boundary spirits; he performs his duties during the festivals on the day after that on which the village priest has sacrificed to the tribal spirits.

Among the institutions that foster village unity are dancing, chiefly associated with festivals, births and marriages, and, for the men, hunting. The annual hunt in which the men from groups of villages join together is also the occasion for an annual tribal council. Births, marriages and deaths are occasions for common action. The women unite for gathering fruits and roots from the forests; the expedition organized for gathering the root used in beer-fermenting is conducted in a manner reminiscent of the men's hunt.

There are dangers to the stability of the tribe. The headmen's authority has been undermined by the system of administering justice, by the fact that the machinery of local self-government has developed apart from the village system, by large-scale seasonal migration for work and by the impatience of a younger educated leadership. The effect of impending political changes, e.g. the future character and position of provincial boundaries, must remain problematical at present. It is doubtful whether their language will receive any encouragement. The great tragedy of the Santals in the past has been the loss of their lands; the system of government under which their affairs have been conducted has been too remote.

REVIEWS

The Story of Water Supply. *By F. W. Roberts. Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1947. Pp. x, 207. Price 18s.*

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This book belongs to a class that is always welcome; it deals with a many-sided everyday subject, full of intrinsic interest, in a manner which satisfies our thirst for knowledge. The author treats the subject with encyclopaedic breadth of view, branching off into as many side lines as may be necessary and pertinent to the main issue. It has been the reviewer's privilege to have visited many of the scenes to which reference is made: it is therefore a pleasure to bear witness to the careful and accurate treatment given to his subject matter by the author. Many are the facets thereof, and to each adequate attention has been given.

Wells and springs and the means of water distribution among primitive peoples and in times before the introduction of piped supplies claim much space; the fund of information collected into a few chapters is amazing in quantity and in human interest, whether it be the use made of the joints of giant bamboos for water transport in the Dutch Indies and in Madagascar or the hollowing-out of the butts of living coconut palms to serve as receptacles for the rainwater that runs down the trunks in the Union Islands in the Pacific Ocean (and also to my knowledge in the Yasawa group, north-west of Fiji).

Here I would like to point out that it is no mere 'suggestion' that part of the present population of Madagascar is derived from the Malayan Archipelago (p. 5) on the other side of the

Indian Ocean. This is a fact which cannot be controverted, substantiated as it is by community in the basic elements of language, physical anthropology and material culture.

The reference on p. 16 to the practice of packing snow into underground chambers in the Ural plains for water storage, brings to memory the parallel way in which ice used to be stored for future use in this and other countries after importation from Norway.

The thorny questions of water-divining and of the filling of dew-ponds are handled in a judicial manner, the conflicting arguments being set forth lucidly and without bias. Still there remains doubt as to the true explanation of dew-pond hydraulics.

Ceylon Tamils are said to have driven out Arab settlers by throwing pigs into the Arabs' wells (p. 17), but no authority is given for this method of expressing dislike having been carried into execution in Ceylon. Similar omissions to give references are frequent and tantalizing; it is to be hoped that this flaw in an otherwise admirable work will be remedied in any future edition. I never heard this particular story during my long residence in Ceylon, where, indeed, there is no active prejudice against Arabs or indeed against any people professing the Muhammadan religion, with the exception of the Pathans from the border land of Afghanistan: these men, in Colombo, are petty money-lenders and are accustomed to collect repayment with covert threats of dire happenings unless the due quota be forthcoming—and this in spite of usury being forbidden by their religion! In contrast to the alleged insult said to have been offered to Arab settlers and the prevailing dislike of Pathans is the trust reposed in the integrity of the Malays descended from the soldiers of a Malay regiment once stationed in Ceylon: today these Muhammadan Malays are employed both by Sinhalese and Europeans as the most trustworthy people to be had as watchmen and policemen, in preference to people of any other class or race.

The favour prevalent in the East for water from a cistern rather than from a piped supply (p. 15) is paralleled in India by the preference generally expressed for river water as against spring water. Ganges water is particularly valued as wholesome and innocuous, even when cholera stalks abroad contaminating the village wells and tanks, to say nothing of the dead bodies often to be seen floating past the temples and palaces of Benares and of the crowds who wade waist deep in the sacred stream and rinse their mouths with its holy water! Similarly, men and women are often seen wading far out into the water of village tanks filling their pots with water intended for drinking, alongside of others who have just been expectorating into the water the blood-red saliva which comes from chewing betel, lime, and areca nut!

The 'Sudan Gezira' (p. 7) are credited with being herdsmen, but this surely is a slip. *Gezira* in Arabic means 'island' and the Sudan *gezira* denotes the *land* between the Blue and the White Nile and does not relate to any particular tribe or people. On p. 46, in a footnote, reference is made to the Gallas of South India—surely a slip for South Abyssinia, unless some other tribe he meant. Can it be that the Kallar tribe or caste is meant and not the African Gallas?

Astonishment is expressed by the author at the preference shown in Gujarat for building a stairway to reach the water level of a well instead of using some mechanical means to raise the water to ground level (p. 30). The reason for this would seem to be that the Gujarat wells at times subserve a secondary purpose in sultry weather: the lower platforms and the galleries serve as refuges from the intolerable heat which sometimes oppresses the land in the dry season.

Another instance of drinking water being brought from a great distance (p. 148) may be given; every day, when the steamer plying from Colombo arrives at Tuticorm in South India, she lands a number of drums of fresh water for the principal residents—water drawn from the Colombo mains.

All these points above noted are of trivial importance when compared with the solid achievement of the book as a whole: the only substantial fault that I have to find is that the index omits very many of the names of important places and things referred to in the text. To mention a few omissions noted when opening the book at haphazard, I find that the topographical index has no reference to Transjordan, Damascus,

Jerusalem, Switzerland, Arles, Nîmes or Cheshire, which are all mentioned on pp. 70 f.

JAMES HORNELL

Water Transport: Origins and Early Evolution. By James Hornell, F.L.S., F.R.A.I. Cambridge University Press, 1946. Pp. xv, 307, plates and text figures. Price 30s.

It may be doubted whether any man other than our Fellow and Rivers Medallist could, with full justification, have undertaken the task of writing such a book as this. His careful and detailed studies of coracles, outrigger canoes, plank boats, and other water craft of many parts of the world have long been familiar to us in the pages of our *Journal* and of *MAN*, in *The Mariners' Mirror*, and elsewhere. In his investigations he has shown an unfailing pertinacity and skill in the study of hull-construction and other details, whilst his theories of the origin and evolution of various types are free from dogmatism.

The author's opportunities for studying the craft he describes have arisen in many or most instances from his former official appointments in connexion with the fisheries of Madras, Ceylon, Sierra Leone, Malta, Palestine, Mauritius, the Seychelles Islands, and Fiji—inspiring fields of study for a biological ethnologist. But this is not all, since the Nile Valley, Uganda, the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the far-flung Pacific Islands have likewise given him opportunities—taken with both hands—of sketching, photographing, measuring, and recording, at all or many stages of construction, the aquatic hobby-horses which have won his enthusiasm, and which he persuades us are worthy of ours. Investigations in such regions have enabled the biologist in him to add life to his comparative and evolutionary treatment, since through his practical acquaintance with structural adaptations to conditions of use, in still waters, rivers, coasts, archipelagoes, and open seas, he has been able to make ecological contributions to technology—to relate structure to function and to habitat.

The author divides his material into three main groups: (1) floats, rafts and the like; (2) skin boats; (3) bark canoes, dug-outs, and plank-built boats, in which group are included sections on outrigger devices, the prow of the ship as a sanctuary for the tutelary deity, and the cult of the *oculus*. In the case of recording so detailed and so thorough, it is difficult to select sections which stand out as having received favoured treatment, but it may not be invidious to mention the catamarans and many other water-craft of India, the coracles of Asia and, especially, of the British Isles (together with the Irish currachs), the bark canoes of Australia, and the clinker-built boats of Scandinavia.

Some of his theories of origin and evolution also call for special reference. His suggestion of the possibility of waterway connexions between Scandinavia and the Pacific, at a period of milder northern climatic conditions in Europe and Asia, enables him to show a preference for a diffusionist explanation of the similarities in some structural details of the plank-built boats (and in some other matter) in the two regions, and this argument is well worthy of consideration. So also are his views on the relationship of the bark canoe, as the earliest of man's 'hollow' water-craft, to the dug-out, and later to the origin of the inner framework of the plank-built boat: in this discussion he appears to deprive the dug-out not only of its priority as a canoe, but of its predominant influence, through the multiplication of added washstrakes and its own shrinkage, in the evolution of the plank boat. In effect, he recognizes the influence of cross-currents in the evolution of canoes as well as in their navigation. The theory put forward as to the origin of the outrigger from such a device as the poling or punting platforms of some Far Eastern river boats has a satisfying consistency and persuasiveness, whilst the derivation of the Eskimo kayak from bark canoes such as are in use on both sides of the Pacific and in the Amur basin also deserves conditional acceptance.

It is tempting for a reviewer who has shown some distaste for 'independent invention' as an explanation of both minor and major similarities in human artifacts, to become expansive on the subject of his substantial agreements with his technological colleague's theories and conclusions in this

direction, and so give the impression that diffusion is a major thesis of the book, instead of being merely an accessory after the fact: and if those who scan this review will read Mr. Hornell's invaluable book, and admire his excellent figures and photographs, they will perhaps realize that technology may sometimes be—very nearly—a study of living things.

H. S. HARRISON

Land Law and Custom in the Colonies. By C. K. Meek. Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1946. Pp. xcv, 337. Price 21s.

133 The amount of information which Dr. Meek has packed into this book is too great even to be summarized in a review. In general it falls under three headings—native systems of tenure, the existing land laws in the colonies, and the recommendations that have been made to amend or improve these laws.

Native systems of tenure, it seems, nowhere recognize freehold or leasehold as we know them, or collective ownership. The usual form of tenure is conditional ownership. The owner may not part with his land except to specified persons: he must allow others to enter upon it to gather fruit, nuts etc., and he loses his title if he fails to cultivate. In many tribes vacant land is allotted by the chiefs, but these do not own the land, any produce that is paid to them being a personal tribute rather than a rent.

Where the natives have been left with their own customs, things have usually worked out pretty well, the chief difficulty being measures to prevent erosion, a very serious problem throughout the tropics. But with the introduction of European methods of cultivation the native tenures become uneconomic, and Dr. Meek describes in detail the different methods adopted in different colonies to deal with the difficulties that have arisen. One of these difficulties is Muslim law, which in its strict application enforces the equal division of estates among the children and in populous areas soon reduces the holdings to small fractions of an acre. The efforts of colonial governments to deal with the difficulties have been well intentioned, but not always based on sufficient knowledge of the facts, nor sufficiently far-seeing. Many expert commissions have reported on desirable changes in the law, but it seems that few of their recommendations have ever been put into effect.

The chapter on 'Freehold versus Leasehold Tenure' is very interesting. Leasehold tenure discourages the tenant from making improvements and encourages him to exhaust the soil. Freehold tenure, on the other hand, may allow land to remain idle, may encourage its uneconomic subdivision, and allow crippling mortgages. Another chapter deals with these latter and the usually unsuccessful attempts that have been made to regulate them.

I have found only one small error in this compendium of information on a most important subject. Dr. Meek refers to the custom by which village lands in Palestine are periodically redistributed and says (p. 24) that this 'secures a fair share of land to all.' He has here been misled: the land is redistributed because the majority of owners always think that their land is below the average in fertility and convenience of access, but at each redistribution each landowner receives exactly the same quantity of land as he had before. RAGLAN

Colonial Agricultural Production: The Contribution made by Native Peasants and by Foreign Enterprise. By Sir Alan Pim. Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1946. Pp. v, 190. Price 10s. 6d.

134 Starting from the premise that the encouragement of the native peasant is an important aim of colonial policy, Sir Alan Pim surveys the actual organization of agricultural production in the dependencies of Britain, Holland, France and Belgium, and comments on the various methods adopted from the point of view of their economic efficiency. He sees a future for the highly efficient, large-scale plantation which can instal costly machinery and introduce the latest results of research, but little for the inefficient one which 'cannot maintain a high degree of intensiveness of out-turn, or afford to pay adequate wages' (p. 180). Such plantations should in his view be replaced by smallholders, possibly with a

landlord and tenant system as an intermediate stage.' Peasant production suffers at present from technical backwardness and the absence of any satisfactory arrangement for the provision of credit. Sir Alan is severely critical of British 'policy, or absence of policy,' in dealing with this situation.

A great variety of systems of land tenure, credit facilities and co-operative societies, and relations between growers and factory, are described. The book contains useful summaries of recently published reports, notably that made for the Leverhulme Trust on oil-palm cultivation in Nigeria and the recent statement of policy on land utilization in Kenya.

L. P. MAIR

The Cycles of the Kings. By Myles Dillon. Oxford University Press, 1946. Pp. viii, 124. Price 10s. 6d.

135 The Cycles of the Kings are groups of stories centred round the names of Irish kings of the early historical period and of the preceding centuries when a strong oral tradition flourished. Many of the stories are clearly mythological in origin and their association with particular kings is due to editing by the professional men of letters.

Professor Dillon gives summary translations, with notes, of a selection of these stories, and says that in choosing them he has sought to include any details which might be of importance for students of history, anthropology, or mythology. On this account, this book may be hailed as introducing a wider approach to early Irish literature and tradition than is usually met in current Celtic studies, which have been largely concerned with the literary form and philological significance of their material: the inquirer into the manners and customs of the early Irish has been handicapped by the paucity of accessible and authoritative translations and commentaries.

As Professor Dillon notes, many texts still remain unpublished, and indeed are comparatively unexplored, but to acquire the detailed knowledge of the older forms of the Irish language essential for the elucidation of the medieval manuscripts is to be precluded in practice from effectively engaging in anthropological interpretation. It is much to be hoped that this book will be the forerunner of a series of works on the other story-cycles and, eventually, the laws as well as much of the miscellaneous traditions.

Professor Dillon has selected several stories of great interest for the light they throw on pagan thought and practice. There is the concept of the king wedded to a goddess, who in turn was identified with the fecundity of the kingdom, while on the fitness of the king depended the fruits of the earth: thus the reign of Cormac mac Airt was one of great plenty on account of the justice of his rule, but another king was deposed as a false ruler for the failure of the crops and seasons. The appearance of a hideous man and woman at a royal inauguration (lit., wedding) feast introduces a divine pair, who elsewhere in Irish literature are found attending feasts of perhaps a more horrific nature. The motif of the Iron House heated to kill those caught inside may be related to the conflagration stories which recall in some respects the sacrificial burning rites of the continental Celts as described by a classical writer.

Of sociological interest are stories concerned with the winter circuit of a king through his territory, tests for paternity, bride-prices, and the famous *Bórama*, or cattle tribute, levied by the Tara kings on the Leinstermen.

It would be helpful if in future works of this kind the original word in each instance could be given for terms such as 'wizard.' Explanatory notes on the exact definition or implication of words describing houses, chariots, and other elements of material culture would be very welcome to the ethnologist.

T. G. E. POWELL

Introduction to Present-Day Psychology. By Curt Boenheim. London, Staples Press Ltd., 1946. Pp. 108. Price 12s. 6d.

136 This book is a simple and straightforward introduction to psychology composed from notes which were used in a course of lectures. Unfortunately it reads as such. On the whole the view of psychology presented by the contents is a far and well-balanced one and might, if the book had been twice as long, have been a very valuable introduction to the subject. As it is, the note-form construction of the sentences

in many parts of the book makes reading awkward and meaning dubious. Alternatively it would have been better to have given a longer, though equally simple, description of about a quarter of the topics mentioned. In many instances this terseness leads to dogmatic statements which further reading shows that the writer did not intend.

Dr. Boenheim seems to think that the culturally determined aspects of sex attitudes are inherited. He says this once in regard to children and implies it again in the following profundity: 'Women are more difficult to classify than men owing to a greater softness in outline both of physique and character' (p. 40). How this view of sex attitudes arises can be seen from the following statement on p. 36: 'I have mentioned that character traits can be discerned in very young children. This being so, it is clear that these cannot be accounted for by environmental influence . . . But it is not at all clear to anyone who has read even a small percentage of the literature on sex and temperament, the importance of the very early training of the child, and the differences in temperament engendered by different culture patterns. This criticism illustrates how very difficult it is to make a book of factual notes on psychology, a course which would be quite feasible in chemistry, or even in history. The complexity of recent advances in social anthropology and cultural depth psychology makes this even more difficult.'

Dr. Boenheim has attempted a difficult task in an unsuitable medium. In spite of this, the book contains much information which will be of value to beginners in psychology.

MADELINE KERR

The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels. By Alexander Heidel. University of Chicago Press (C.U.P.), 1946. Pp. ix, 269. Price 20s.

The author begins by giving a history and synopsis of the *Gilgamesh Epic*, and then gives a complete reconstruction of it so far as that can be done by collating the various fragments. He follows this with a collection of 'related material,' translations of texts dealing with the Flood and the other world. All this has every appearance of having been carefully and competently done.

He then embarks on a discussion of death and the after life, as they appear in the Mesopotamian texts and the Old Testament. He concludes that their eschatologies are 'as far apart as the east is from the west,' since 'in Mesopotamian literature all men without distinction, good and bad alike, are consigned to the same dark and gloomy subterranean hollow,' whereas in the O.T. 'there are passages which clearly and unmistakably hold out to the righteous the hope of a future life of bliss and happiness in heaven.' He holds that there is nothing in the O.T., all the books of which he regards as of equal authority, which, if 'correctly interpreted,' conflicts with this view, but his interpretations of seemingly awkward passages, though ingenious, are not always convincing.

In his last chapter he compares the Mesopotamian and Hebrew Flood stories. He is reluctant to allow that the latter owes anything to the former, but suggests that both may contain elements derived from a common source. RAGLAN

British Calendar Customs: Orkney and Shetland. By Mrs. M. M. Banks. Folk-Lore Soc., 1946. Pp. xii, 110 and 2 Plates

This account has been published separately from that of Scotland because the affinities of Orkney and Shetland folklore are with the Faroes and Scandinavia rather than with the Scottish mainland.

The chief apparent difference is that whereas in Scotland New Year's Day is much more important than Yule, in these islands it is the other way round.

In North Ronaldshay were so-called temples of the Sun and Moon, which were stone circles, and near them a holed monolith called the stone of Odm at which couples plighted their troth. It does not seem that these names are certainly ancient.

Mills were haunted by trows and niogles, the latter a spirit which often took the form of a horse. A good photograph shows the Shetland water mill, in which water is directed on to the flanges of a horizontal wheel: it is apparently of Swedish origin.

In general the folklore is similar to that of other parts of Britain. The dialect has Norse affinities, but the New Year song is not in the local but the Scots dialect and the song which accompanies the Christmas sword dance, though at least 200 years old, is purely English.

The high standard of editing and printing which distinguishes this series has been well maintained. RAGLAN

Parts of Barbary. By Alan Houghton Brodrick. London, Hutchinson & Co. 1946. Pp. 255. Illustrations and Maps

If the reader is able to surmount the first chapter—formidable obstacle!—he will surely find some passages of interest in this most discursive book.

The parts of Barbary are revealed as mainly Tunisia, but before final arrival the reader must be prepared for adventures in China and Persia!

The writer deliberately avoids continuity, whether in narrative or general theme, leaping most disconcertingly from politics to gossip, or from ethnography to architecture, and increasing the variety even further by numerous quotations from many authors in several languages.

The book is neither history nor anthropology nor geography nor yet plain travel literature, and is frequently exasperating to read, but newcomers to Barbary may find it assuage their leisure hours, as anecdote and witticism are frequently amusing.

The book is enriched by a good inside-cover map of north-west Africa, by excellent photographic illustrations, and by a short bibliography, glossary, and index, along with a summary chronological table. WALTER FOGG

CORRESPONDENCE

The Oikoumenê: Shi'î and Sunni. (Cf. MAN, 1947, 14)

140 SIR.—I have read with great interest Sir John Myres' article on the *Oikoumenê* in MAN, but I cannot agree with the contrast he has made between the 'liberal Shi'î doctrines of the Iranian region' and the 'uncompromising Sunni alternative of the Levant.' It is of course a well-known fact that the greatest contribution to the scholarship of the Muslim 'Golden Age' came from the Iranians. I recently analysed the origins of the scholars and scientists mentioned by A. Meili in his *La Science Arabe* (Leiden, 1938), and found that of 128 personalities (excluding those of Spain) 51 (or 40 per cent.) came from Iran and Transoxiana. But can this disproportion in favour of Iran be ascribed to the 'liberal Shi'î doctrines'? With its belief in the divine inspiration and infallibility, in matters both spiritual and temporal, of the Imams, as the descendants of Ali, there was

a strong authoritarian strain in the Shi'î; and when the succession of Imams came to an end in the ninth century A.D., this doctrine of authoritarian infallibility was transferred to the *mujtahids* (Shi'î divines). To quote D. B. Macdonald (*Encyclopedia of Islam*, Art. *Idjtihad*), the *mujtahids* 'are regarded as the spokesmen of the Hidden Imam. Their position is thus quite different from that of the *'ulamâ* among the Sunnis. They freely criticize and even control the actions of the Shah, who is merely a *locum tenens* and pre-serv of order during the absence of the Hidden Imam, the ruler *de iure divino*.' (Modernizing Shahs like Riza Pahlavi have had to break the resistance of the *mujtahids* by force.) 'But the Sunni *'ulamâ* are regarded universally as the subservient creatures of the government.'

It is true that in the higher grades of the Isma'îli sect between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries A.D. there

was considerable scope for the practice of science and scholarship; but though the Isma'ilis derived from the Shi'a, they had in those same higher grades evidently discarded all Shi'i, and even all Muslim, belief and evolved an esoteric freethinking system, employing Shi'i propaganda in its Isma'ili form merely as a means of recruiting and indoctrinating their rank and file, the multitude of lay brothers needed to maintain their freethinking hierarchy. Cultured they may have been, but liberal they certainly were not.

The Sunnis, on the other hand, regard doctrinal infallibility not as personal and vested in the apostolic succession of *imams* and *mujtahids*, but as institutional, deriving from the Qur'an and the Custom (*Sunna*) of the Prophet, as recorded in the mass of Traditions concerning him. The *Sunna* has thus always been open to various interpretation, and in the brief period when the sap was rising in the still green tree of Islam (notably in the eighth and ninth centuries) there was considerable scope for intellectual speculation and theorizing within the Sunni framework. Even when the reaction set in and triumphed in the late ninth and following centuries, there was never any attempt to establish a hierarchic authoritarianism comparable with that of the Shi'i *mujtahids*. To this day, there has never been a single authority that can lay down an *ex cathedra* doctrine for Sunni Islam. However conservative the *ulamā* have in fact shown themselves, reformers like Sheikh Mohammed Abduh have been restricted as much by the unpreparedness of public opinion as by the obscurantism of the doctors of theology. The extent to which Western ideas have been able to penetrate the Levant is, since they have affected the orthodox as well as the religiously lax (though naturally to a lesser degree), testimony to a certain liberalism surviving in Sunni Islam.

Prof. H. A. R. Gibb in A. J. Toynbee's *The Study of History*, Vol. I, pp. 400 ff. comments that the Shi'is were originally in a majority in a very small area of Persia only. Elsewhere in Persia they appear to have been associated with a special element in the population of the great cities, perhaps the artisan classes, as an expression of class-consciousness against the aristocracy, whether Arab, Iranian, or Turkish. He remarks pertinently that in the tenth century the Sāmānid dynasty, which conspicuously fostered culture and learning in its courts of Bukhara and Samargand, was thus opposed by the Shi'a. He goes on to remark that Shi'ism is not a natural outcome or expression of the national Iranian genius: this lay in the field of Sufi mysticism, to which the authoritarian doctrine of the Shi'a was bitterly hostile, especially because the Sufi movement had been captured by the Sunnis. The Safavid dynasty's imposition of the Shi'a on Iran in the sixteenth century thus killed Persian humanities and left no outlet for intellectual activity. The average intelligent Persian seems to have sunk into sceptical religious lethargy.

To conclude, while it was inevitable that the stolid and unimaginative Turks should have chosen the more pedestrian Sunni creed rather than that of the emotional and extravagant Shi'a, I am convinced that it was very fortunate for the Levant that they did so.

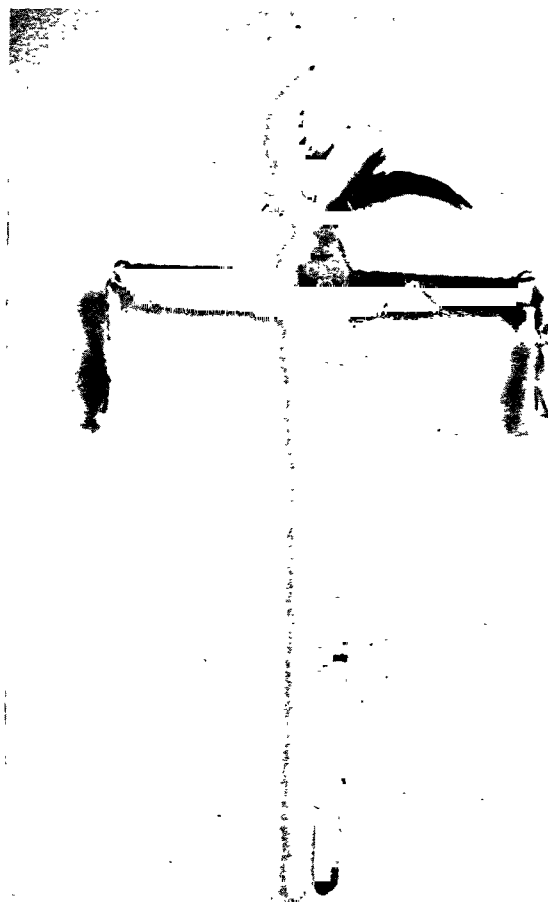
G. E. KIRK

Middle East Centre of Arab Studies, Jerusalem

Anthropomorphic Crucifixes in Sinai

141 SIR.—Four kilometres below the bridge of Abu Aweiqila, which carries the main road from Egypt to Palestine, the Wadi el-'Arish, the 'river of Egypt,' a dry watercourse plentifully fringed with tamarisk bushes, encounters a sandstone bluff about 12 metres high and makes a sharp turn to the west. In the bed of the wadi three or four water holes have been dug which yield a copious supply of brackish water. On the summit of the bluff is perched a rectangular tomb of roughly dressed blocks with the trace of a room (or chapel?) beside it. At a little distance, perhaps 150 metres downstream, on the right bank of the wadi, is a considerable cemetery of Moslem graves. The water holes, the cemetery, and the locality generally are known as Awlad 'Ali, that is 'the children of 'Ali.' But as to who this 'Ali had been, the present inhabitants of the neighbourhood, Bedouins of the Tarabin tribe, could tell me nothing in November, 1945. Other Arabs indeed declared that he had been 'the ancestor of all the Tarabin and the

Mileihat as well,' but the Tarabin themselves repudiated the suggestion. Nor could they throw any light on the identity of the occupant of the ancient tomb on the bluff—presumably not a Moslem saint, for, in that case, the Moslem dead would have been buried as close up to him as possible. Yet, though his origin is wrapped in mystery, his influence with Allah is still great and his intervention with the Deity is considered well worth seeking. Consequently every April the tomb is the object of a ceremonial visit by the Tarabin and then it is that their women deposit by its north-eastern corner a number of cruciform images, so that now there is a pile of some 60 or 70 of these in every stage of decay beside it. The Tarabin, however, maintain that these are not Christian crosses, but that the form is due to their *wasim* or tribal mark being cruciform.

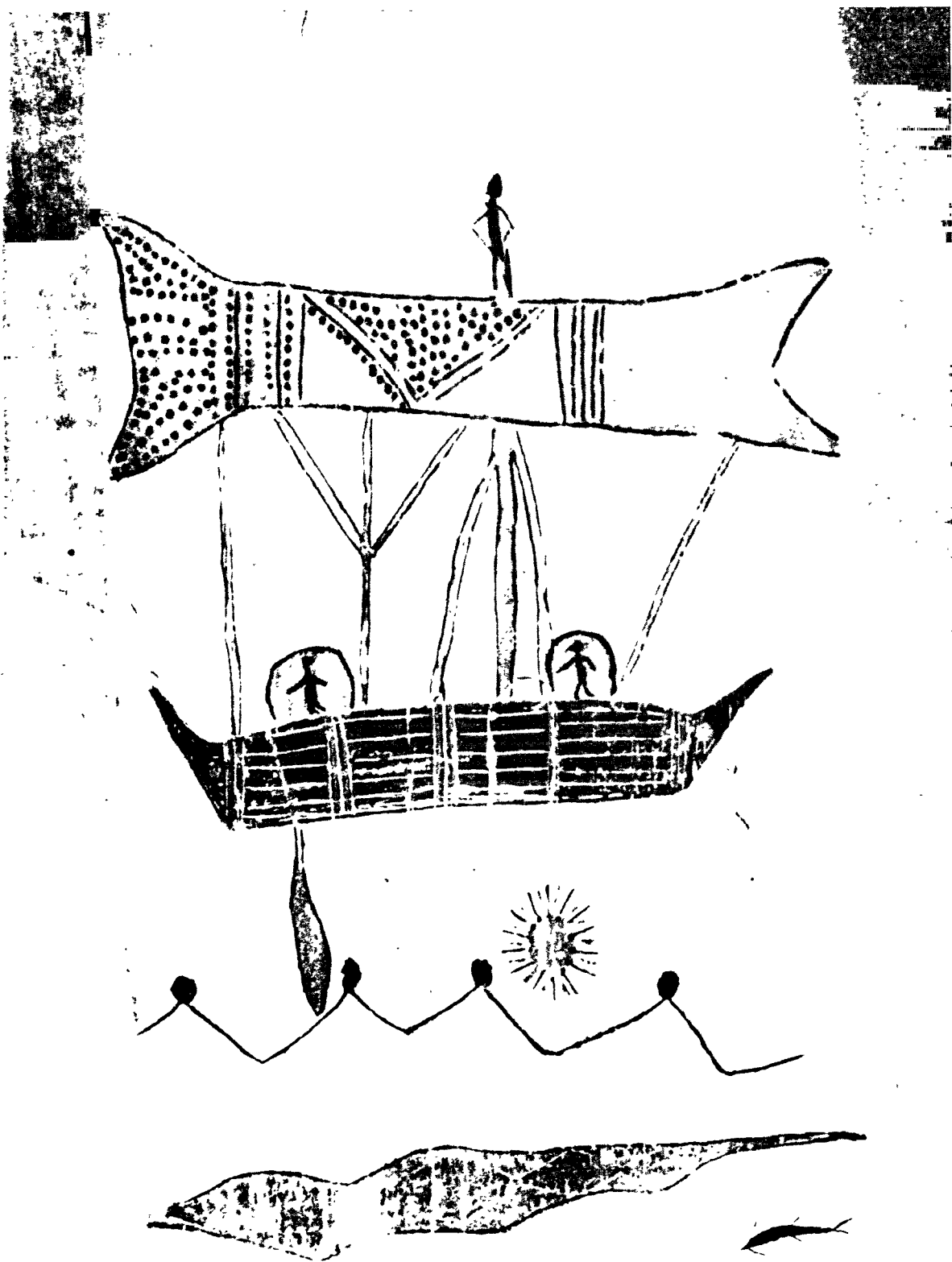


The figure given, that of one I stole, sufficiently shows the shape, but not the size, 75 cm. long, nor the colours, nor the care and ingenuity lavished in its construction. To make one, two sticks are first tied together in a cross and bound with wools of as many colours as are obtainable. In the one figured, white, dark green, orange, dark red, and cobalt blue have all been used in the wrappings, while the 'arms' consist of white linen rags. The head is a pink pad of cloth with two locks of human hair braided above it, while the head-dress is made up of a crescent of hens' feathers. Round the left 'arm' is bound a wisp of animal hair, perhaps from a donkey's tail. Another image, not figured, had a sort of amulet hanging round its neck. The intention to make them as human as possible was clearly evident. But as to why the images were deposited there, the shy Tarabin would not vouchsafe any explanation.

G. W. MURRAY

Survey of Egypt

Director of the Topical Survey



BARK PAINTING FROM GROOTE EYLANDT, NORTHERN AUSTRALIA

[Scale about $\frac{1}{2}$: Australian official photograph]

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

MALAY INFLUENCE ON ABORIGINAL TOTEMISM IN NORTHERN AUSTRALIA. By Frederick Rose, Canberra. With Plate J and text figure

142 In a short paper on the paintings of the Groote Eylandt aborigines (*Oceania*, XIII, Dec., 1942) I gave a description of a series of cave paintings in the centre of the island. Mention was made of the three wind totems or 'dreamings' (*ala:wad'a:ivara*), viz., the south-east wind (*mamariga*), north-west wind (*ba:ra*) and north wind (*timburu*). These are totems of three of the ten or so patrilineal groups located in the appropriate parts of the island (which is inhabited by three hundred aborigines). Increase rituals are performed for the three wind totems and quite characteristic symbols are used to denote them (see fig. 1 (i), (ii), and (iii) respectively).

While on the island in 1938-39 and 1941 I was unable to obtain from the natives the derivation of the symbols, but during 1945 I received a parcel of bark paintings from the island, one of which (Plate J), now in the University Museum, Melbourne, shed an interesting light on this question.

The main subject of this painting is a Malay prau. Until early in the century Malays from Celebes and other islands lying to the north of Australia would make trips to Groote Eylandt and other suitable areas off the Northern Australian coast to fish for trepang or bêche de mer. These praus would arrive with the north-west wind which prevails during the summer generally and depart with the south-east wind which prevails during the winter (*timburu*, the aborigines assert, occurs mainly during midsummer).

The significant point of the painting is that the shape of the sail appears to be the origin of the *mamariga* symbol. The important features of the weather associated with the totemic winds are as follows:

(i) *South-east*. This wind is strong and persistent, but no dangerous squalls are to be expected; a moderate area of 'canvas' would be exposed.

(ii) *North-west*. This wind is light and fairly regular, and there is no danger of any immediate squalls; consequently a large area of 'canvas' is exposed.

(iii) *North*. This wind is light, but during midsummer is often the immediate precursor of thunderstorms, with which are associated winds of gale force and over: the sail would be expected to be furled completely.

The trimming of the sail of the prau would lend support to the thesis that the symbols are derived from the shape of the sail to meet the various winds. Thus the *ba:ra* symbol is wide and *timburu* is contracted, while *mamariga* is intermediate in shape. Not only would the arrival and departure of the Malays with the north-west and south-east winds respectively be significant in themselves, but they would also betoken a definite season of the year and consequently a particular orientation of the aboriginal economy. It is not unexpected, therefore, that the aborigines should use the characteristic shape of the sail as a symbol for the winds which, by association, have become an important part of their totemic system.¹

¹ See also L. Adam, *Primitive Art* (revised and enlarged edition, Pelican, in the press June, 1947), chapter on 'Australia.'

HEAD-DEFORMATION IN THE NEAR EAST. *By Margaret Hasluck*

143 Somewhat twenty years ago, when measuring heads in the Greek province of South-West Macedonia as Wilson Travelling Fellow in Aberdeen University, I found myself in the mountain village of Yerania, which lies a few miles south of Kozani, the local capital. A man of about fifty who came to be measured had a curiously shaped head: the forehead sloped sharply back from the eyebrows and the occiput rose in a high peak, making his profile recall a William pear. Soon another man of the same age and the same characteristics presented himself, but he was neither brother nor cousin to the first. A third man of the same age who had the same pear-shaped head was not related to either of the others. I thought rapidly. 'The shape of these heads is unnatural. Some common factor must be responsible. The men are not related; what else, besides heredity, could they have in common? Surely only the midwife who brought them into the world!' I turned to the onlookers and said, 'Do midwives bind the heads of babies when they are born?' 'Of course,' they replied, much surprised that I did not know this without asking.

Now on the alert, I noted that if none of my other subjects in South-West Macedonia had such a striking peak at the back of his head, at least one in five was slightly deformed, giving the classification 'normal,' 'slightly deformed,' 'grossly deformed.' I also found during the next year or two that head-binding is widely practised in the Near East: I heard of it in Southern Greece at Chalcis and Patras and in the heroic district of Mani at the tip of the Peloponnese; among the two very different groups of Greeks who formerly lived respectively at Trebizond and Panderma in Asia Minor, but are now scattered over Greece since they came there as refugees in the 1920's; and among the Vlachs of Poroï in East Macedonia. It is not restricted to Greeks or possibly Hellenized Vlachs, but is usual among Turks. So I was informed by natives of Rodosto in Thrace and by the 'Konia' Turks of Western Macedonia, who have the longest, if not the purest, pedigree of all known Turks: they came from Konia in Asia Minor at the end of the fourteenth century and lived isolated in Macedonia until 1924, when they were returned to their country of origin under the scheme for the Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey.

In most cases only one bandage is employed. This is tied straight round the head above the eyes, tightly or loosely according as the midwife's hand is heavy or light: her views on the proper shape for the infant's head are also important, as are those of the women of the family. It is recognized that between them they may deform the head, without meaning to, by excessive zeal. With each race the bandaging aims deliberately at an æsthetic result. The Greeks and

Vlachs, who like round heads, wish to make the head a little rounder. The Konia Turks, whose heads are naturally on the massive side, desire, as they said, 'to flatten the forehead' and 'to make the head high and flat instead of *tumba* (round).' The Albanians, who also dislike 'heads like apples,' do not need to bandage the heads of their babies because they achieve the flat effect of their admiration by strapping the infants to a board, which will be described in a later article.

Macedonian Greeks seldom keep the bandage on for more than a week. If ever they untie it before its final removal, they retie it in the same manner, sometimes altering the tension by accident or design. Southern Greeks keep it on from three to ten days at the midwife's option, and Konia Turks for forty days.

Macedonian Greeks, Poroï Vlachs and Konia Turks sometimes use a second bandage, tying this under the chin and over the crown, much as we tie up a dead person's head. Without the bandage the child's mouth might hang open, say the Greeks. The Vlachs use it to shorten a baby's face that seems over long, and the Turks to reduce a big chin and to push forward a retreating one. This bandage is optional, the first is indispensable.

A practice parallel in method and motive is described by Hippocrates of Cos as existing in the Caucasus in the fifth century B.C. In his *Περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων* (*De æribus, aquis, locis*), 14, he says, 'I begin with the Longheads for there is no race with heads like theirs. The length of their heads was originally due to a local custom, but nowadays nature, too, contributes. The people believe that longheadedness is a mark of distinction; and the local custom in question is as follows. As soon as a child is born, they begin, while the bone is still soft, to refashion the skull with their hands, and they lengthen it by pressure, using bandages and other suitable appliances. By these means the spherical character of the head is destroyed, and its length is increased. . . . The local custom, owing to association of the Longheads with other peoples, no longer obtains in full vigour.' I owe this most interesting reference to Professor Sir John Myres, and the translation to the late Professor John Fraser.

It will be noted that Hippocrates says the infant's skull is not only bandaged but also refashioned with the hands. In Southern Greece today midwives often massage a new-born infant's head to make it rounder, and its cheeks and nose to make them shapelier. So they did in the classical Greece of Hippocrates' younger contemporary, Plato, as Professor H. J. Rose kindly informs me. In the ideal state, says Plato, education is to be based in part on fables. 'The selected fables we shall advise our nurses and

mothers to repeat to their children, that they may thus mould their minds with the fables even more than they shape their bodies with the hand' (Plato, *Republic*, 377 C, trans. Davies and Vaughan, p. 65).

Here, then, we have a custom found in the Near East in both modern and ancient times. In each age the underlying motive is given, and some description of the technique; these tally so closely that we may fairly argue from the modern, more fully documented, to the old. Two cautionary observations follow. First, head-binding can hardly be a safe indication of race, since it is found among three modern peoples as alien in blood and earliest known habitat as are the Greeks, the Vlachs and the Turks. Three, it may be added, is an under-estimate, for only a bold person would contend that the Greeks of Patras and the Turks of Rodosto are anthropologically the same respectively as the Greeks of Trebizond and the Turks of Konia.

Secondly, when measuring a living head or a skull, one could profitably consider the possibility that manipulation has upset the cephalic index. In the three cases of gross deformity in Greek Macedonia there was no doubt that it had done so, and I destroyed the records of all three. To be on the safe side, I did the same with most of the cases where a slight deformity was obvious. Even so I have never felt that the records of apparently normal heads which were published by Hasluck and Morant in the paper, 'Measurements of Macedonian Men,' in *Biometrika*, 1929, pp. 322-36, were fully to be trusted.

The two caveats I have mentioned would apply to the skulls found in 1938 in Neolithic tombs at Khirokitia in Cyprus by Mr. Dikaios, curator of the museum at Nicosia, and briefly mentioned in *MAN*, 1938, 87, by Messrs. Rix and Dudley Buxton. One of these, from Skeleton No. 28 in Tholos XVII, has the same bulge

at the occiput as my three Macedonian friends; in the others deformity is much slighter or absent. This variation suggests that, as in Macedonia, the deformity was caused by inadvertence rather than set purpose. On the evidence from living specimens which has been detailed in the preceding pages it is doubtful whether these skulls are safe guides to the race to which their owners belonged or to the true proportions of their heads.

It is possible to guess, though not to say definitely, how the custom of head-binding originated. Most of us in England have been warned against patting the head of a tiny brother or sister, and Balkan peoples show a similar nervousness about the fontanelle in the first days after birth. They also feel that the bandage round the child's head helps the delicate bones to close up. The liveliest expression of these sentiments came to me in a garbled story from an Albanian friend. She has only one living child and says that the many others she bore died at, or soon after, their birth because their father's evil life made them be born with their heads open. The survivor was born at the end of the 1914-18 war, when the American Red Cross was working in Albania. An American doctor who attended the confinement saw the child's head open and sewed it up. Possibly, then, the inventor of head-binding, worrying about a new-born infant's fontanelle, was suddenly inspired to see what a bandage would do. Liking the effect on the fontanelle or the shape of the head, she broadcast her discovery. But, as already said, there is no proving or disproving this. It is certain only that head-binding is a very ancient, very widespread custom in the Near East, and that all who would measure the living or the dead in this area would do well to take it into consideration.

ON THE VALUE OF IRON AMONG THE NUER.

144 The information recorded in this note has been acquired in conversation with Nuer of the Lak, Gaweir and Thiang tribes. For a general account of the Nilotic Nuer, see E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Clarendon Press, 1940.

The material needs of the Nuer are simple. Their requirements, which are determined by their pastoral way of life, are further limited by the scarcity and poor quality of the raw materials available in their country. Nevertheless, they show considerable ingenuity in adapting their technology to the deficiencies of their environment. There are no specialized and hereditary trades, though certain persons may acquire a local reputation for skill in making such things as pipes, collars for bulls, canoes or ivory bracelets. These people are not craftsmen by trade, and their activities centre round their cattle, like every other

By P. P. Howell, Sudan Political Service

Nuer. Their services are normally accepted by others as part of the integral system of mutual aid which is the basis of every Nuer community, and they are repaid by assistance in pastoral or agricultural activities, or by reciprocal gifts. This lack of specialization in the material world is not found in the supernatural, for there are hereditary experts capable of dealing with almost any unusual phenomenon, spiritual experts, magicians and sooth-sayers of varying categories, who demand fees—usually in cattle—for their services.

There are extraordinarily few blacksmiths. Among the Lak, Thiang and Gaweir tribes I have only heard of seven, and there is no evidence that they were more numerous in the past. Moreover, they are nearly all of Dinka origin and are known as foreigners. None of them know how to extract or smelt iron, and all the

crude iron they use is imported. They are now primarily concerned with refashioning and ornamenting the rough spear-blades imported into Nuer country by Arab merchants from Omdurman. There is no evidence that blacksmiths are found in greater numbers among other Nuer tribes, even in the West where they have contact with other peoples who are widely known as skilled craftsmen.

Dr. Evans-Pritchard, writing principally of the Lou Nuer, says:

'Nuer have no knowledge of smelting iron and little of the blacksmith's art. I have never seen a forge and, though there are certainly some blacksmiths, their art is crude and may be regarded as a recent innovation, at any rate in most parts of Nuerland. Spears bought from Arab merchants are beaten out in the cold.'¹

Jackson, writing of the Nuer in 1923, says:

'There is no iron in the district inhabited by Nuer.² This is imported either from Jur country, or Abyssinia, or exchanged for animals or grain. The art of smithing is as a rule handed down from father to son, but the smiths as a class are not a special caste nor do they possess any privileges or honours. They are usually paid in sheep or goats for the work they perform.'³

Iron wares which are considered either essential or desirable by the Nuer are limited. Spears, particularly fish-spears, are necessary. Now that the Nuer cultivate more extensively, iron hoes are essential. Iron bangles, rings, ornaments and cattle bells are prized. Before the influx of trade from the North, all these things were obtained either as booty or by peaceful barter from the Dinka west of the Nile (and through them from other tribes beyond), from Abyssinia and, to a lesser extent, from the Shilluk. This trade was not very extensive, at any rate in the more remote parts of Nuerland where communications were difficult, and iron thus attained a comparatively high value when expressed in terms of cattle. For this reason there were no special patterns of spear blade peculiar to the Nuer. Certain shapes were popular, and each type had a special name and each name usually denoted also the origin.

For the most part, wood, bone and horn were used as substitutes. Hoes (called *kalum*, as opposed to iron hoes called *purr*) were made of wood, sometimes with a bone blade. These cannot have been very effective in clearing the hard 'cotton soil,' but it must be remembered that the Nuer had more cattle in those days and relied less on agriculture than they do today. Bangles and ornaments were locally made of bone, wood or hair and ivory,⁴ while cow-bells were made of Dom nuts. Spears were made of antelope

horns, ebony or other hard wood, and from bone.⁵ On this subject Jackson says:

'Spears were originally made from horn of an antelope—such as Tiang, white-eared cob, waterbuck, roan, Mrs. Grey's cob—or were fashioned out of the legbone of a giraffe or a piece of ebony. The horn of the antelope was softened in water and straightened out until it formed an interesting, though primitive, weapon.'⁶

Jackson also publishes a photograph of Nuer possessions.⁷ This includes no less than ten spears made from materials other than iron and only three iron spears. He does not say whether these were collected as curios, or whether, even as late as 1923, the proportion of iron spears was as low as this. It seems probable that by that date iron was much more common, but all Nuer informants, when speaking vaguely of the old days, say that a man would possess only one iron spear to two or three others. Jackson mentions that at the time of writing, iron was fast displacing wood and bone.

'Since iron and steel have been procurable through the Abyssinians and traders, metal is today largely used in the manufacture of their spears with the result that the older and more curious variety is fast tending to disappear.'⁸

Their disappearance has been accelerated by the large-scale import of ready-made trade spears, which are sold for a few piastres by Arab merchants. Wooden, bone or horn spears which are known as *giit*, as opposed to iron spears which are known as *mur*, are now almost unknown and in some areas are regarded with considerable amusement by the younger generation of Nuer. The iron spear is no longer a luxury; the *giit* is a thing of the past. Although I have often examined the hundreds of spears which are stacked against the trees at any Court meeting, I have not seen more than half a dozen examples altogether, and these were all of ebony, never of bone or horn. A few are still kept as they are considered particularly effective in war, and the Nuer hope they may one day be able to use them.

Nuer say that an iron spear is much easier to use and that it requires a strong man indeed to defeat his enemy with wooden or bone spears alone. They also say that although it requires greater skill and strength to inflict a wound with a *giit*, the wounds once inflicted are much more severe and more frequently fatal. The comparison is that of a large-bore soft-nosed bullet to a small-bore solid of higher velocity. The relative difficulty of fighting with these spears is of special interest. In their raids upon neighbouring

¹ F. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, p. 86, Clarendon Press, 1940.

² There are areas in Nuerland where iron-stone nodules are found, but it is doubtful whether iron could be extracted from them, at any rate by primitive methods.

³ H. C. Jackson, *The Nuer of the Upper Nile Province*, S.N.R. 1923.

⁴ See P. P. Howell, *A Note on Elephants and Elephant Hunting among the Nuer*, S.N.R. vol. XXVI, Part 1, 1945.

⁵ Till recently they possessed very few iron spears, cherished as heirlooms, but used instead the straightened horns of antelope and buck, ebony wood and the rib-bones of giraffe, all of which are still used today, though almost entirely for dances. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, p. 86 (see also fig. II, p. 115).

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

tribes the Nuer have almost always been successful. Yet from what information is available it seems likely that their neighbours had a higher proportion of metal spears, for it was from them that the Nuer obtained what iron they had.⁹ It shows at any rate that the answer to the Nuer successes in war is not to be found in the superiority of their weapons.

The relative scarcity of iron among the Nuer is clear enough when we come to analyse the traditional scales of the compensation in cattle demanded for recognized wrongs; these, although they vary considerably from tribe to tribe, can be quoted by the older generation of Nuer with fair consistency. It is problematical whether they were strictly followed in settlement of disputes in the past and they appear to exist in tradition more as a basis for compromise than a strict law. Moreover, many cases were not settled at all and so exact a set of rulings does not imply also an institutionalized legal system whereby all wrongs were righted on a defined pattern. The likelihood of damages being paid and the amount which was paid depended largely on the relationship of the parties concerned, their kinship affinity, their territorial proximity and the political cohesion of the community in which they dwelt. The fact remains that these customary payments have lasted in tribal tradition, and whether they were applied and to what extent they were applied does not detract from their value in indicating the importance placed upon certain observances in the tribal estimate of what is a right and what is a wrong. Further analysis shows how moral values are modified by changing economic conditions. This is especially so in assessing the relative value of personal possessions, and in particular those made of iron.

Theft, as we define it, is rare among the Nuer. What is often described as cattle-theft is usually not theft at all, but 'self-help.' Nuer do not steal their Nuer neighbour's cattle merely because they covet them, but because they claim some real or mistaken right to the animals by reason of some kinship obligation or in settlement of a debt which the owner will not pay. Theft of other things is unusual because most forms of personal property are made from materials so easily obtainable that the Nuer does not bother to take them. If he did so, the owner would either regard their removal as part of the community system in which mutual obligations play their part or he would not take the trouble to dispute the matter. Only a persistent thief of this sort of thing makes himself unpopular, and possession of the things he steals is not sufficient recompense for unpopularity

to the average Nuer. Certain possessions are considered in another category altogether, either because they are difficult to obtain or their misappropriation results in economic hardship. In most cases compensation demanded for their removal¹⁰ was (in the past) astonishingly high and apparently out of all proportion to their actual value. It should be noted, however, that all the articles recognized in tradition as being sufficiently valuable to call for compensation at all are articles which were traded for cattle. It was this and their relative economic utility which determined the scales of compensation. The only personal property thus recognized was grain, canoes, and iron implements.

The number of cattle demanded for the theft of iron implements seems to have varied very considerably from tribe to tribe and it may be that this variation was conditioned by the ease or difficulty with which they were obtained. Lak Nuer say that compensation for a spear (*mut*) or a fish-spear (*bith*) was as much as five head of cattle. In Lou country (according to Mr. B. A. Lewis) the traditional compensation for a fish-spear was six head of cattle. This also applied in Gaweir country, but whereas in Lou a fighting spear was assessed at four head of cattle, in Gaweir a fighting spear was not considered worthy of compensation at all, and only substitution or restitution was necessary to end the dispute. Gaweir had considerable trade relations with the Atwot Dinka, from whom many spears were obtained, and it is possible that they had more such spears than Lou or Lak. On the other hand, they may have considered the *giit* a full substitute—equally effective though harder to use.

Fish-spears were universally of high value and there is a probable reason for this. Whereas wood, bone or horn provided a local substitute for iron in the manufacture of fighting or hunting spears, fish-spears were never made of these materials. All Nuer informants say that neither they nor their ancestors made fish-spears from bone. They might well have done so, for bone harpoons are not uncommon among primitive peoples, but Nuer say that the difficulty arises in the hafting. The *giit* (horn or wood or bone) is fixed at the joint with an unsewn leather collar made from the tail skin of an ox. This is soaked and stretched round the haft, where it shrinks as it dries. Such a collar on a fish-spear would be useless in water. Further, among all Nuer tribes and particularly in

⁹ The Dinka had similar wooden or bone spears called by them *agit*, but some Dinka tribes knew how to smelt iron and most tribes were in closer contact with the iron trade routes than the Nuer ever were.

¹⁰ Nuer say that, whether the wrong was intentional or accidental, equal compensation should be paid. Theoretically, intention is not usually considered in Nuer customary law. Thus a man who breaks his neighbour's hoe is liable to pay the same damage as if he deliberately stole it. This is theory only, because the scales of compensation are a basis of compromise and not a set rule, and the owner is not so incensed by the latter wrong and therefore more willing to compromise.

Lou and Gawair, the fish-spear is of considerable value in the subsistence economy of the people. They have always relied upon fishing to supplement their diet and the only effective method of fishing which they know is to spear them. Hence the iron fishing-spear was not only rare and without a substitute, but was also of enormous economic value.

Even so, six head of cattle seems an extraordinarily high estimate of the value of a fish-spear and most Nuer informants have told me that it is out of all proportion to the actual trade value even in early times. They say that in the days when iron was scarce a man would have to travel far to get them, but he could probably acquire several hoes, fish-spears, or axes for one cow-calf. The principles which underlie Nuer customary law show no evidence of a concept of punishment or punitive damages. The scales were in any case more a traditional estimate of the seriousness of a wrong, and it is unlikely that a man would ever agree to pay six head of cattle as damages for stealing a fish-spear even when weighed against the disapproval of his fellows and the consequent lack of privilege or security. This traditional valuation is probably a purely fictitious one indicating how serious a wrong is the theft of a fish-spear or else it

includes a potential valuation of the economic loss and consequent suffering imposed on the owner by that loss.¹¹ Hoes and axes also demanded a high rate of compensation in some Nuer tribes.

Whatever the inconsistencies and variations found in these customary scales of compensation, however rare their application in part or in full, their existence in tradition shows how valuable iron was in those days. Apart from grain and canoes (another article of economic importance to riverain Nuer, and one difficult to obtain except by payment of cattle), the iron articles alone are recorded as worthy of compensation at all. Now that all iron implements or weapons are so easily obtained by payment of cash and not cattle, their theft is no longer considered a serious offence and no compensation is recognized. All that is demanded is peaceful restitution or its equivalent.

¹¹ For example—compensation for breakage of a little finger was one cow-calf. The injured man may be unable to cultivate, to herd and guard the cattle, or to carry a spear or shield for defence. Potentially he is a liability rather than an asset to his group, and the equilibrium can only be restored by payment of cattle. There is no compensation for breaking a man's skull. Either he dies—in which case full compensation for homicide must be paid if feud is not to follow—or he recovers and is no longer a liability.

SHORTER NOTES

West Africa and Indonesia. *A Summary of the im Thurn Memorial Lecture delivered by Professor J. H. Hutton, 10 April, 1947*

145 'West Africa and Indonesia: a Problem in Distribution' was the subject of the im Thurn Memorial Lecture delivered in Edinburgh on 10 April, under the auspices of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society, by Professor John H. Hutton, C.I.E., D.Sc., Cambridge University. The lecture followed the annual dinner of the Society, at which the President, Professor H. J. Rose, St. Andrew's University, presided.

Professor Hutton said that the occurrence of identical or closely similar features of culture in different parts of the globe, often separated by considerable distances, had led in the past to the development of various hypotheses to account for these phenomena and sometimes to extreme views as to their causation. He sought to show that close resemblances existed in certain respects between tribes in the neighbourhood of Southern Nigeria in West Africa and the peoples occupying islands in the Indian archipelago and areas on the adjoining mainland of South-East Asia, Assam in particular.

The resemblances in these two areas were to be seen most clearly in beliefs and practices associated with head-hunting and with the disposal of the dead, and in beliefs about the nature of the soul or of life which in fact underlay and were expressed in the practice of head-hunting and the method of disposing of the dead.

The conclusion was reached that the similarities between Nigerian and Indonesian belief and practice in respect of these features of culture were too close to be fortuitous, and by way of explanation an hypothesis was put forward of actual contact by sea between the peoples living on the shores of the Indian Ocean and those

on the Bight of Benin. Indonesian voyagers occupied Madagascar and imposed their languages and cultures. It was suggested that they went beyond that, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and succeeded in sailing as far north as the Gold Coast, and that they left behind evidence of their culture in beliefs and practices still extant among West African tribes.

Société d'Ethnographie Française

146 The President and Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute have learned with great pleasure of the foundation early this year of a society for the study of the ethnography of France, and have addressed a cordial message of congratulation and goodwill to the Officers and Council of the new body. The inaugural meeting was held on 21 February at the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires (Palais de Chaillot, Paris, 16^e), with which the Society has the closest connexions. The first President of the Society is M. Michel de Boüard, and the *Conseil d'Administration* elected at the same time includes many distinguished names; the Officers, forming the *Bureau* of the Council, are M. de Boüard (President), MM. Vergnet-Ruiz, Rivière and Parain (Vice-Presidents), M. Maget (General Secretary), M. Lailler (Joint General Secretary), MM. Lunel and Mihura (*Délégués à la Propagande*), M. Dumont (Director of Publications), Mlle. Trémaud (Archivist) and Mlle. Tardieu (Treasurer).

The Society sets out, according to the programme drawn up for it by M. Marcel Maget, Director of the Laboratoire d'Ethnographie française, to encourage adaptation and diffusion of ethnographical methods of research by specialists, formed into working parties,

in the various humane sciences from all regions of France; intellectual contact between persons and institutions interested in the study of France; preparation of joint schemes of work intended to co-ordinate efforts and render them more quickly effective; and dissemination of the results obtained under this programme among official bodies and the general public.

The specific activities proposed are: field work and research in French ethnography, in collaboration with the Museum; the establishment of a library and archives in the Museum (which is the Society's home) to supplement its already considerable resources; publication of a mimeographed monthly bulletin, *Le Mois d'Ethnographie française*, with which MAN is in exchange relations (containing bibliographical information, reviews, notes on work in progress, Museum activities, etc.), of an annual, *Annales d'Ethnographie française* (for the publication of research by members), and later, of films, photographs, gramophone records, etc.; periodical meetings to review work done and settle a programme for the succeeding period, (a) monthly, consisting of a lecture followed by discussion, and (b) annual, to last several days and be held alternately in Paris and the provinces, to study a problem from the points of view of several disciplines and delimit its ethnographical aspects; and occasional group meetings, of members and others, to study some general or regional problem of special interest or urgency.

The subscription is 200 francs a year and covers among other advantages receipt of the monthly bulletin.

The first few numbers contain valuable information about current activities in this important field. Nobody who knows of the outstanding work of Professor Rivière and his collaborators in the last few years (see MAN, 1947, 2) will doubt that the new Society has a great future: and it will be widely hoped that the Royal Anthropological Institute will soon find means of encouraging these sadly neglected studies in this country.

WILLIAM FAGG

Folk Music and Dance Festival, Edinburgh, 1948

147 The Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society is making plans for the holding in Edinburgh, from 28 June to 3 July, 1948, of a Folk Music and Dance Festival. Promises of co-operation have been received from the English Folk Dance and Song Society, the Scottish Country Dance Society, the Irish Folklore Institute, the Belfast Folk-Dance Society, the Folk-Lore Society, and the Royal Anthropological Institute. The programme for the Festival, now in course of preparation, includes morning sessions for the reading of papers, evening sessions for folk-dance displays and concerts, and open-air performances. An exhibition of material relating to folk dancing and folk music will also be arranged. The scope of the Festival is limited to the British Isles. It is hoped that England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and the Isle of Man will all be represented by folk singers and dancers.

REVIEWS

AMERICA

Pueblo Indian Embroidery. By H. P. Mera. *Santa Fe, New Mexico: Memoirs of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Vol. IV, 1943. Pp. iv, 73, including 26 plates. No price stated.*

148 In the voluminous literature on the Pueblo Indians little specific attention has hitherto been paid to their embroidery, although this craft must, in Dr. Mera's words, 'be considered to have been . . . one of the outstanding outlets for artistic expression . . .' among them. A suggested reason for this neglect is the scarcity of specimens surviving from earlier periods upon which a full study of its development could be based.

Pueblo embroidery has been considered by some authorities to be a wholly intrusive trait having its origin in church vestments looted from the missionaries left behind in New Mexico by Vázquez de Coronado in 1542, and by others to have been introduced by Mexican Indians accompanying the same expedition. Dr. Mera, while agreeing that available evidence as to origin does not admit of dogmatic conclusions, makes out a very good case for believing that some form of embroidery was practised on the southern fringe of the Pueblo area at least as early as the 12th century. Whether or not the rudiments of the technique are aboriginal—and the basic stitch employed today is not known to be used in any other part of the world—the designs are distinctively Indian. Mural paintings at Awatovi assigned to the 15th century include figures wearing kilts decorated with motifs essentially similar to those still being embroidered in the Hopi pueblos. The high development of negative design elements is again apparently unique.

Since about 1880, when commercial fabrics began to be traded into the south-west, embroidery has declined, and it is now restricted mainly to kilts and *mantas* for ceremonial wear. The areas embroidered on kilts are now the outer edges which lie vertically along the thigh when the garment is worn, although the nature of the basic design indicates that

it was originally conceived as horizontal. Miss B. Freire-Marreco, whose detailed notes on embroidery technique as observed at Hano (1912-13) are now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, suggested that what is nowadays a kilt was formerly worn as a pilch with the decorated margins hanging horizontally fore and aft. The Awatovi murals, however, show horizontal decoration on kilts, not pilches, so that some other explanation of the change must be sought. Dr. Mera believes that it may have taken place during the last century. This problem exemplifies the difficulties posed by the lack of early material.

The paper gives indicators for the recognition of 'classical', late, and 'revival' work. It is richly illustrated with three plates in colour, photographs of relevant archaeological fragments, and drawings by the author of all the principal variations in design encountered in the course of his study. Dr. Mera is to be congratulated on thus bringing together for the first time all the available data on a characteristic Pueblo art form of wide æsthetic appeal. GEOFFREY TURNER

Textiles of Highland Guatemala. By Lila M. O'Neale, with drawings by Lucretia Nelson. *Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 567, 1945. Pp. x, 319 and 130 Figs. Price, paper cover \$5.00, cloth \$5.50.*

149 This exhaustive study of Guatemalan textiles by Professor Lila M. O'Neale of the University of California is the result of over four months' intensive field work followed by a long period of detailed study of private and museum collections gathered from an area which once formed part of the Mayan civilization.

The work is divided into four parts—(1) raw materials, looms, technique and design; (2) highland dress and accessories; (3) the weaver; and (4) a technical analysis of costume based on the study of over 900 specimens.

Part I will be of special interest to students of primitive weaving and comparative cultures, as details are given of

ginning by hand, spinning, and warping, and of the make-up of the stick loom. This section is valuable as a permanent record of processes slowly disappearing under modern conditions.

The women's most decorative and highly prized garment, the *huipil*, a form of blouse, is still mainly produced on stick looms, but for the weaving of cloth for women's skirts the treadle loom is mainly responsible and such cloths are produced by workers at home and in the factories, an example of the spread of commercialism.

One noticeable feature of these skirt lengths, which is a distinct link with earlier hand weaving, is the frequent use of the dyed warp and weft (*ikat*) for the production of patterned stripes. This method is well explained in the chapter on dyes and illustrated. Interesting comparisons might be made between this Indian work and patterns and those of the Iban and other Indonesian peoples who practise *ikat*.

Under the heading of weaving technique, various ways of brocading on stick and treadle looms, tapestry, pile-loop, plain and fancy gauze, and soumak weaving are all clearly described and illustrated by reconstructions.

The survey of design motives discusses the possibility of the double-headed bird and double-ended serpent being part of the heritage from prehistoric Mayan times. Otherwise the designs fall into two groups, those used as elements in brocading and those used as embroidered ornament. The former consist mainly of bird, animal and highly stylized human forms and of geometrical patterns. The technique of brocading gives a characteristic angularity to the figures and many of the horses, mules and small birds are represented in a spirited manner.

The embroidery motives are usually plant forms, with birds introduced occasionally, and both designs and stitchery owe much to European influence through the centuries since the conquest. A number of these designs are illustrated, some pictorially, others schematically; the latter method

gives complete information to the embroiderer, but is not so satisfactory for the uninitiated.

Parts II and IV are in a sense complementary, for whilst in the former a great mass of detail from 900 costumes is classified and correlated, in the latter individual costumes from 110 highland towns are meticulously described.

Part III, dealing with the weaver, is a more personal study treating of children's knowledge and their part in household activities, the standard of workmanship, the trade between towns in cloth, blankets, maguey belts and bags and organized work like that of the skirt-weavers.

The final portion of the book consists of 130 pages of illustrations with descriptive notes on the opposite leaves. The first 74 figures include maps showing the provenance of the specimens, weaving apparatus and technique, embroidery diagrams and their lay-out, belts, the knotting and plaiting of maguey back-straps and bags: these excellent drawings and diagrams are the work of Miss O'Neale's colleague, Assistant Professor Lucretia Nelson, and, whilst all are clear and practical, those showing the knotting and plaiting of maguey are particularly effective in expressing the methods used.

These figures are supplemented by 56 pp. of photographs of equipment, reconstructions of weaves, stitchery, embroidery and plaiting. Numerous garments are reproduced showing woven stripes, brocading and embroidery and the whole series ends (as the book begins) with photographs of Indians in costume which are not of the high standard of the rest of the work.

The author's conclusions as to the antiquity of the use of cotton, the type of loom, the method of brocading by hand and the simplicity of garment form will all be conceded. Her work will be of the utmost value to all workers in primitive textiles, and to collectors and curators of the same, and is a permanent record of highly skilled native craftsmanship and methods which are gradually disappearing.

LAURA E. START

ASIA

Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient. By Jacques Weulersse. Paris, Librairie Gallimard, 1946. Pp. 329. Price Fr. 360

This book is one of the volumes of a series entitled 'Le Paysan et la Terre' planned in 1935 by Marc Bloch, then Professor at the Faculty of Letters at Strasbourg. The first volume in the series to appear was Henri Labouret's *Paysans d'Afrique Occidentale* (1941); it was followed by Albert Dauzat's *Le Village et le Paysan de France* and by the book under review: Professor Le Bras's *L'Eglise et le Village* is announced for publication in the near future and other volumes are in preparation. The series makes an important contribution to peasant, or rural, sociology. Its preparation and publication have been carried out under every kind of handicap. Marc Bloch was shot by the Germans in July, 1944, and his collaborator in the series, André Déléage, was killed in December of the same year on the Luxembourg front. Jacques Weulersse died prematurely in the course of a scientific expedition across French West Africa after having revised for the press the book under review.

It is a study of the peasantry of Syria and the Lebanon in the setting of Near Eastern peasant life in general. Jacques Weulersse was well acquainted with the people of whom he wrote, having already to his credit several articles on Syria and a lengthy doctorate study on the Alawite country. He points out that when people have written about the Near East they have generally described the townsmen or the Bedouin and that the much more numerous and important class of the *Fellahin* has been neglected. His account of the peasantry of Syria is comprehensive: he describes them from every angle, geographical, historical, social, economic, and technical, and discusses the changes brought about in their condition by the French Mandate and, somewhat gloomily, their probable future under Arab governments. The dichotomy between nomad pastoralism and sedentary agriculture, corresponding to two kinds of climate, is excellently treated, especially in his account of the mingling of the two societies on the fringes of the desert where the aristocracies of the country, the nomad Bedouin and the urban citizens, compete for suzerainty over the peasant.

Equally good is his account of the relation of towns to peasantry, in which he shows that the urban populations are not, as in Europe, recruited from the countryside but flow into each other and have their social links, mostly of a confessional kind, with each other rather than with the country around them. The towns are in the country and live on it but are without roots in it. The towns exploit the peasantry, which nourish them but receive next to nothing in return, either in goods or in services. The towns are essentially parasitic: the activity of their markets is commercial rather than productive and what artisans there are work for urban requirements. Always they consume more than they produce.

The Near East is a land of big estates and of big landowning families (*aghas*). It is the aim of every urban family to possess land and the aim of every rich countryman to have a town house. The preponderance of the towns in the economic and political life of the country—for all money, markets, and control over the bureaucratic machinery and courts are in urban hands—has enabled them, through loans, patronage, and threats, to reduce most of the peasantry of Syria to the status of landless clients working for their absentee masters on the *métayage* system. Credit and patronage soon lead to proprietorship. The state gives the peasant no protection. Administration is in the hands of the townsmen who exploit him, and he has no interest in it other than in trying to avoid its exactions. Of patriotism outside the *famille*, or in some of the mountain districts the *famille-tribu*, and the village there is none. Political institutions are imposed from above and are not a growth from the land itself. Hence in the Syrian countryside, as all over the Near East, there are only two classes, the exploiters and the exploited, the notables (*aghas*, pashas, beys, and shakhs) and the common people. Those who cultivate do not own and those who own do not cultivate.

I have sketched some only of the points brought out in the book. It is full of valuable information and is written throughout in a manner which makes it illuminating as well as informative.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

The Purums : An Old Kuki Tribe of Manipur. By Tarak-chandra Das. Calcutta University Press, 1945. Pp. xvi, 336. Price Rs. 10

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This contribution to the ethnography of an already well documented region is neither better nor worse than most of its predecessors. Defects in the technique of recording and in the analysis of the resultant data severely limit its scientific utility.

At the date of this study (1931-36) the Purum were a transitional group intermediate between the 'shifting' cultivation' economy of the Naga-Lushai-Chin highlands and the fixed 'wet paddy' economy of the Manipur Plain. There are dozens of similarly situated groups throughout the Burma-Assam area, though comparatively few of them merit the distinction of a separate tribal name. Since such groups are transitional they usually show a marked degree of cultural variation and statements regarding cultural norms need to be very carefully framed if they are to have any validity. Mr. Das's study seems singularly defective in this respect.

In 1931 the Purum numbered only 303 persons in all; they lived in four villages, in each of which both wet paddy and shifting *jhum* cultivation were practised, so that there is little meaning in such statements as (p. 53) 'in spite of this persistent demand for land in the valley, *jhum* or shifting cultivation still forms the main source of food supply for the Purums.' I calculate that it would only require 170 acres of wet paddy to satisfy the food requirements of the whole community!

Mr. Das's total stay in the field was of less than five months spread over a period of six years; each of four visits was at the same period in the year; communication with the Purum was through the medium of the Meithei language, which, it appears, only a few of the Purum knew at all well; three different interpreters were used, two Kukis and one Naga, none of whom spoke Meithei as a mother tongue or knew Purum at all. That there should be consequent contradictions in Mr. Das's field note books is hardly surprising! Unfortunately, he appears to suffer from a failing all too common among ethnographers, an over-anxiety to find norms of standardized behaviour where possibly none exist.

In general the quality of observation and analysis is not up to the standard that might reasonably be expected considering the small size of the community. The justification for publication lies in the fact that the four Purum villages suffered heavily in the 1944 fighting and no other account of their pre-war status exists.

In lay-out the book is modelled closely on the standardized arrangement of the Assam Government ethnographic publications. A concluding chapter on 'Acculturation' and 'The Future' in which the magic phrase 'the Functional School of Anthropology' finds due place, seems rather high-falutin' when applied to such a minute community, but the author is here presumably expressing his general views upon the vexed question of the administration of India's 'backward areas.'

E. R. LEACH

The Pardhans of the Upper Narbada Valley. By Shamrao Hivale, with a foreword by Verrier Elwin. Oxford University Press for 'Man in India,' 1946. Pp. xvi, 230. Illustrations. Price Rs. 10

152

This book is the first attempt to describe in detail the culture of a tribe which in its 'fraternal' relation to another is virtually unique in India. The Pardhans are the minstrel priests of the Gonds and, while they also cultivate land, it is as valued parasites that they chiefly obtain their living.

Mr. Shamrao Hivale analyses this function with wit, thoroughness, and charm. Particularly valuable is Chapter II in which he describes the *mangteri* tour, discusses the technique of ritual begging, and recounts exactly what occurs during the Pardhan's sojourn with his Gond host. Equally important is Chapter VI in which he summarizes the Pardhan's role as lover and poet. Like most tribes of Middle India, the Pardhans have a tradition of pre-nuptial intercourse, but in significant contrast to the Baiga, and even to the Gonds themselves, their erotic technique is highly developed. It is as if an oral Kama Sutra serves them as a tribal breviary.

In a final chapter, 'The Pardhan and his family,' Mr.

Hivale examines certain Pardhan institutions—the plough punishment, the *dewar-bhauji* relationship, polygamy, the serving marriage, and divorce—not, however, in the mere light of tribal theory, but as he has actually witnessed them at work. He points out, for example, that 'the relationship between a man and his elder brother's wife is equally important in the field of erotics and of economics.' He shows that 'the realities of the polygamous marriage are more unpleasant for the man than for the women.' He explains how lack of conjugal respect dogs most serving marriages and is the prime factor in their failure. On all these subjects he writes with quite exceptional understanding and insight.

Indian writers, with virtually the sole and always to be honoured exception of Sarat Chandra Roy, have hitherto contributed little to the science of their tribes. This work, by the lucid charm of its writing, its intimate knowledge, its affectionate understanding, sets a new standard in the study by Indians of their country.

W. G. ARCHER

The Warlis. By K. J. Save. Bombay, Padma Publications Ltd., 1945. Pp. x, 280 and 15 plates. Price Rs. 10

153

Mr. Save is the Special Officer for the Protection of Aboriginal and Hill Tribes in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency, and he has given us in this volume a very useful account of a tribe of which little has hitherto been recorded. The Warli is probably a branch of the Bhil tribe and must in any case be nearly allied to it: it seems to have occupied its present habitations as a result of migration from the north. After a brief discussion on the origin, affinities, and appearance of the tribe, the author goes on to describe its family and territorial organization and the sanctions provided by tribal customs to maintain rules of social behaviour. This is followed by chapters on Warli religion and superstitions, marriage, the position of women, and death. Further chapters deal with ritual songs and mythology, with the language spoken (a dialect of Marathi influenced by Gujarati and with peculiarities of its own), with the economics of Warli life, with the problems of drunkenness, indebtedness, and forced labour, with music and dancing. Brief notes on adjoining tribes are added, a number of Warli songs, a glossary, an index, and two maps.

This survey of the tribe is comprehensive and practical and likely to be of great use to administrative officers. The Warli are not untouchables and are clearly in the process of being assimilated into Hindu society, of which they are likely to come to form another caste as so many tribes have before them. The main problems to be faced if the tribe is to prosper and progress are, in the opinion of the author, poverty, drink, and the influence of their *bhagats*, that is seers or medicine-men. Further, the income of a Warli family will not do more than provide a bare means of existence and this is likely to continue as long as the cultivator fails to own the land he tills.

One or two points of Warli culture are rather unusual. Religious ceremonial such as marriage is conducted by a priestess: the spread of Hinduism tends to substitute a Brahman, but the pure Warli ritual is conducted by a woman. The seer and magician, however, is a male and his influence on the community, whose chief or only defence against witchcraft he is, is very great, since all diseases are due to bewitchment. The dead are buried, except in the case of certain 'bad deaths,' and even in these cases the corpse is either buried, dug up, and reburied later, or buried by proxy in the form of an effigy of rice flour. An important point of the obsequies is the final ceremony in which the spirit of the dead returns and informs a medium through whom he reassures his surviving relatives that his spirit is at rest. This ceremony seems to take place during the cold weather following the death. Though we are not told so, it is (or was) probably timed to fall between the harvest and the sowing.

One or two unusual musical instruments are used: the *tarpe*, which seems to be a sort of glorified hornpipe, sometimes as much as six feet long, and is the most popular instrument; a friction drum, called *dera*, formed by stretching on a full water pot a membrane from which a thin stick projects which is manipulated by a woman; and a sort of very primitive double lute, with a gourd resonator at each end, worn across

the thighs by the narrator of the legend of the corn goddess which is intoned ritually during the threshing of corn.

The illustrations are unfortunately too small to be satisfactory; the glossary is inadequate and often explains words familiar to many outside the author's area while omitting many which are really needed.

The text contains some few misspellings (such as 'rite,' or 'while' for 'wile,' and the misprints, e.g. 'edipemic,' which seem inseparable from English printed in India) and the occasional mistake for which one writing in a foreign language can hardly be blamed. Mr. Save has nevertheless given us an admirable factual account of the Warli tribe. He is less happy perhaps in interpretation than in documentation, but it is the latter that he has primarily set out to give us and as such it forms an important addition to Indian anthropological literature.

J. H. HUTTON

Gold Khan and Other Siberian Legends. Translated by Norman Cohn, with preface by Arthur Waley. London, Secker and Warburg, 1946. Pp. 180. Price 12s. 6d.

The six narrative poems translated in this pleasantly produced book are the astonishing and impressive product of the oral literature of a group of horse-riding nomadic tribes of Siberia, and Mr. Cohn's translation does them full justice. His metre has the abrupt intensity with which, as he says in his introduction, the singers chanted these long poems by the light of the evening fire in the nomads' tents on the desolate steppe. The people who made these poems, Tatar tribesmen of the Abakan steppe near Minussinsk on the upper Yenisei river, have since been scattered and assimilated into other peoples, and their literature now survives only in the records of one or two nineteenth-century philologists, in particular Castren and Radloff. Mr. Cohn has translated from the translation of Castren (only in Radloff's collection has the original Turkic been preserved) and has shown us a corner of a civilization which is scarcely known in this country. These poems, however, represent only one form of the literature of one small group of the Turkic people of the Asiatic steppe, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Cohn will produce further translations for our benefit from this rich store.

The stories are epic poems similar in their external form and their epic style and diction to those produced by the Kara Kirghiz of the Tien Shan mountains, but unlike them relate to unknown heroes, who performed incredible feats of strength, skill, and magic. Yet the incredible becomes credible in the telling, and nine-year wrestling matches and flights which pass through seven sky-lands are easily accepted. There are, however, somewhat confusing breaks in some of the stories. Radloff, in his *Proben der Volksliteratur der Türkischen Stämme Süd-Siberiens*, says that the minstrels from whom he took down the poems were confused and bored by having to recite slowly, and the resultant defects, in which Castren's versions doubtless shared, are very visible in the first story, 'Gold Khan.' There are considerable gaps and unexplained events in the plot, as would presumably not have occurred if the singer had been reciting uninterruptedly to an enthusiastic audience. These breaks seldom occur in the five other stories, of which perhaps the best is 'Dappled Hawk,' with its description of creation mourning the end of the world.

There is little direct historical content in the stories, but very much of religious and anthropological interest. In religion, these people were shamanists, untouched even by the superficial Islamism of the more westerly Tatars, and the stories shed considerable light on their beliefs. The supernatural element is represented by gods, the good *kudai*, or supernatural 'strong ones' who dwell in the upper heavens, and by evil subterranean dwellers, the *aina*, and the 'swan-women.' The heroines put on eagle robes, and fly as fast as a horse can gallop, while the heroes rely on their horses. These horses are of great importance; characters are introduced by their own names to which are attached the colours of their horses as permanent epithets—thus, Kók Molot of the Blue Stallion. A hero is too powerful to ride any but his own horse, and this animal is capable of human speech, and is invariably much more intelligent than its master. Indeed, the horse usually has magical powers, and can fly and foresee the future,

while the hero has only human powers, and is usually forgetful and often stupid.

The poems give an interesting picture of the social conditions of the people. Wealth consists in men and herds; but, apart from the heroes, the men are regarded merely as wealth-producing and are not individualized. The women are subject to the heroes, though one younger brother declares that his sister must choose her own husband (p. 178). The women, however, usually display greater intelligence than the men. Monogamy seems customary, and in one case (p. 176) a woman is represented as being ruler of a people after her parents' death.

MARGARET SCOTT

A Japanese Village, Suye Mura. By John F. Embree, with an introduction by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. London, Kegan Paul, 1946. Pp. xx, 268, and 16 plates. Price 18s..

The Japanese Nation. By John F. Embree. New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1945. Pp. 308. Price \$3

One of the greatest challenges facing contemporary social anthropology is to transfer the insights and methods gained from the studies of primitive communities to larger and more complex societies; the eventual aim would be a rigorous description of contemporary Occidental society. The anthropological faculty of the University of Chicago was particularly conscious of this challenge, especially during the period when Professor Radcliffe-Brown was a member of it; and Dr. Embree's *Japanese Village* was planned as the first of a series of studies of Asiatic communities to take its place alongside Dr. Redfield's studies of the Mayas of Yucatan, and the studies of communities in the United States organized by Dr. Lloyd Warner.

These ambitious attempts have only been partially successful. Like his colleagues, Dr. Embree had produced an excellent description of the area he studied (and, it should be added, easily the most readable), but at the sacrifice of a great many of the anthropological concepts which have been found most useful in the study of primitive communities. In particular the concept of *culture*—surely the key concept of social anthropology—has been abandoned; nowhere in this monograph is the distinction drawn between the cultural norms and actual behaviour; in many instances the reader is quite uncertain whether a given description is that of the cultural pattern or of a single instance. This is particularly true of the long chapter on Religion, the second most unsatisfactory chapter of the book. The concept of *institutions* is quite inadequately used; the material culture is vaguely sketched in; the economics of the community are insufficiently treated, despite illuminating remarks on the far-reaching effect of the substitution of money for rice as the medium of exchange. The connexion between the village studied and the larger community of which it is a part is unsatisfactorily developed. The short chapter on Social Classes and Associations shows a deplorable methodological confusion; the categories developed by Lloyd Warner to demonstrate the social hierarchy of the United States, with its myths of the absence of social class and unlimited social mobility, have been transferred wholesale and uncritically to a description of Japan where, as other portions of the book show, the exact order of social precedence of every individual in the community is known to all and undisputed. As a concession to current fashion, there is a chapter on 'The Life-History of the Individual' which has many illuminating sentences; but the material is not gathered according to any theory of psychological relevance; and 'the individual' is conspicuously omitted in this and all other portions of the book.

Despite these theoretical objections, which prevent the book from fully attaining its announced aim, *A Japanese Village* is a first-class description of the social organization of an isolated Japanese rural community; it is unquestionably the fullest and most stimulating study of an Oriental peasant community in a complex society, and adds very greatly to our knowledge of Japan. The most noteworthy aspect, and also the most fully developed, is the preponderant role played by formalized co-operation in village life; despite the intervention of the agricultural expert, the teachers, and other

representatives of the central authority (in 1935 to 1936, the time of the author's field work, there was no policeman in Suye Mura) most village affairs were conducted co-operatively; and such control as was needed was exercised democratically with chairmen or village heads selected in rota from each household. Other noteworthy aspects are the *Kō* (co-operative credit clubs), whereby an individual in need of cash can raise it from his neighbours in such a way that nobody is heavily burdened and everybody stands a chance of profit; the very great extension of male adoption; the preference for parallel-cousin marriage (the children of two brothers); the role of the neighbourhood group; the high prevalence of drunkenness. Indispensable for Orientalists, *A Japanese Village* is also of great importance to all students of rural sociology, and most useful to all who, in any capacity, have to treat with Japan.

Suye Mura, the village studied, is on Kyushu, the most remote of the Japanese islands, some thirty hours distant from Tokyo by the quickest means of land travel, and well removed

from the railway. Although possibly typical of rural Japan, it is no vantage point from which to make a critical study of Japan as a nation. During 1945 there was in the United States a very great demand for books about Japan; and it must have been in response to this demand that Dr. Embree produced *The Japanese Nation*. The book must have had a certain utility for people who wished to get some idea of Japan without reading the original sources on which it is mostly founded; and it served a praiseworthy purpose in presenting the Japanese as human, rather than diabolic or insect-like. For the historian it can never have been of any importance; and for the anthropologist or sociologist the chief interest is in the useful emphasis given to the principle of group responsibility and unanimous decisions. The book has some suggestive political implications; but, now that the need for the acquisition over-night of knowledge of Japan has disappeared, the interested student will have time to read the more authoritative books listed in the bibliography.

GEOFFREY GORER

CORRESPONDENCE

The Ancient Egyptian Word *Maneros*

156 SIR,—In my second article on 'Osiris and his Rites' (MAN, 1937, 200) I brought into consideration the ancient Egyptian song called by the Greeks *Maneros*, adopting the interpretation which Frazer had used, without, however, giving his sources (*Golden Bough* (3rd ed.), *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, Vol. I, p. 215). This interpretation, plausible as it might seem, was never authoritatively accepted and the meaning of the word remained under discussion till recently, with the publication by Professor Černý of an explanation which has won wide acceptance among competent authorities: it is contained in the *Miscellanea Gregoriana* published by the Vatican in 1941 for the Centenary of the foundation of the Egyptian Museum.

He has arrived at the conclusion, as others also had done, that the first syllable, *Man-*, was connected with the word meaning 'pastor,' but found further that it was used only as the first element of compound words meaning 'leader' or 'director' of some domestic animal, such as donkey or sheep; in *Maneros* the last syllable means geese (*ra*), and the whole might be taken to mean 'goose-herd.' The connexion of such a word with the song in question would be obscure indeed, were it not, as I venture to suggest, for an explanation of the song reported by Herodotus (II, 79). He was told, he says, that it was made as a lamentation for the only son of the first king of Egypt, who met with a premature death, leaving the song as his dirge. This would seem to be a very garbled explanation current in Herodotus' time among the unlearned, but it may contain this much of reality that in early days a personage of royal rank who had the charge of keeping the king's geese (an important source of food at that time), and had thereby acquired the name 'Maneros,' composed a song on the tragic death of Osiris, with the lamentations of his sister-wife Isis and the magical cries, full of passionate love, with which she brought him back to at least temporary life. In time the song may have come to be popularly known by its composer's official name.

The article discusses the interpretation of various personal names beginning with *Man-*, especially that of the historian Manetho, which is found to mean most probably 'horse-keeper'; like others similar, it seems to have lost its original occupational meaning and to have become a simply personal name, like our Smith, Wright, Fletcher, etc.

Further, on re-reading the summary of my conclusions about the Fertility Rite in my final article (MAN, 1946, 103) it seemed to me that some definite explanation was due to readers of the change of hypothesis concerning the imaginary personality of Osiris. The first two articles had as background the long-accepted idea that he had indeed been a very early king of Egypt, but further examination led to the conclusion that this theory, likely as it might seem to be, did not agree with all the evidence available, from Hither Asia as well as from Egypt. This change of hypothesis does not, however,

affect the general account given of the status and functions of Osiris in Egypt; it is of course attached to my abandonment (MAN, 1941, 97) of Sethe's theory on the origin of the Horians. That theory was so ingeniously worked out that it won the strong approval of most high authorities and was accordingly of great influence when my studies in the matter began. But I could not even then accept it entirely (see MAN, 1946, 103, Note 5), and have since found reason, as the series of articles will show, to abandon its main contentions. A misprint in that article requires notice: on p. 121, line 3, for '113' read '103.'

G. D. HORNBLOWER

Edoth

157 SIR,—In the course of the two years since *Edoth*, the quarterly of the Palestine Institute of Folklore and Ethnology, first began to appear, many readers and researchers from different countries have expressed their wish to have a full English translation of various articles published in it. It has therefore been decided to publish the full English translation of the main articles in each issue of *Edoth*, as from Vol. III, No. 1 (October, 1947). Although the size of each issue will thus be greatly increased, the subscription remains unchanged (abroad \$6.00 per annum). The Institute's address is, 34, David Street, Jerusalem, Palestine.

RAPHAEL PATAI, Editor

Palestine Institute of Folklore and Ethnology

Wellcome-Marston Archaeological Research Expedition

158 SIR,—Publication of the excavations conducted by the late Mr. J. L. Starkey at Lachish (Tell ed-Duwir), Palestine, between the years 1932 and 1938 is now being resumed. In order to compile a full bibliography, the editor would be glad to know of all articles and other published references to the archaeological and linguistic material from the site, particularly those in foreign publications. Copies or extracts would be gratefully received wherever possible, or a full reference and short summary of the contents. They should be sent to the Expedition, Institute of Archaeology, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London, N.W.1.

Institute of Archaeology, University of London O. TUFNELL

A Kaska Oracle

159 SIR,—The following information may be of interest to your readers: it was obtained in the course of field work with the Kaska undertaken in 1944 and 1945 under grants provided to the senior of us by the Department of Anthropology, Yale University and the Yale Peabody Museum. Contact with the four tribes constituting the Kaska nation was made at Lower Post, B.C., on the Alaska Highway.

Like many other people the Kaska Indians, an Athapaskan-speaking group living in northern British Columbia and southern Yukon Territory, Canada, know a number of

oracles and omens which function in allaying the uncertainties of the future. The Kaska today are a hunting and trapping people who, economically, are extremely dependent on the sale of raw furs trapped through the winter. While we were living with one family of Upper Liard River Indians, our host, Old Man, was prevented from visiting his traps by the illness of his wife. For several days he fretted at his enforced delay and wondered about his success. Finally, one afternoon in late November, he said he would ascertain how many lynx were in his traps and thereupon performed the oracle which one of us observed. We are not aware that any string oracles have hitherto been described for a Northern Athapaskan people.

Taking a piece of red spruce he whittles a smooth round

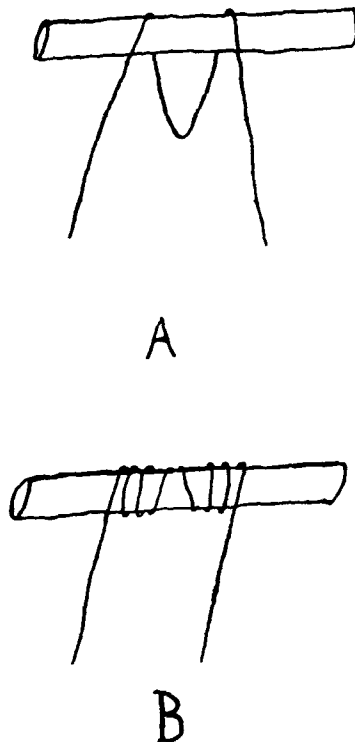


FIG. 1.—WINDING THE STRING

stick about eight inches long and about three-quarters of an inch in diameter. He then secures a piece of cotton twine about two yards long which is doubled without tying the ends. The folded end of the string is placed across the stick. The entire string is then wound around the stick (Fig. 1, A). This is done first by holding the overlapping portion of the string with the fingers and then turning the stick until the remainder of the line has been wound into place. The two strands of line are at first kept separate in this process, each passing around the wood on either side of the folded end (B). Later the winding is done less painstakingly. When the entire length is wound around the stick, Old Man places the wrapped portion of the wood between his palms and twirls it once or twice in the direction that would not unwind the string. Ordinarily, Old Man explained, the device should be placed under one's pillow for an hour, but in this instance he put it away for only twenty minutes and then began to unwind the line in order to learn his 'fortune.'

In unwinding the oracle the two strands of string are thrown in the opposite direction from which they had been put on the stick. If, when the end of the line is reached, the string immediately falls from the stick (as should logically happen) the trapper is advised that there are no lynx in his traps (Fig. 2, A). If, however, instead of falling free, the stick is found passing through the folded end of the string (B), the oracle is interpreted as promising one lynx to the trapper.

If the string is bent around the stick twice (C), two lynx are indicated. Sometimes the line is found bent across the stick once and in addition a strand of line is found crossed under itself (D). This indicates that the man's traps contain one lynx plus one other species of fur. The trapper consulting the oracle may use it to determine the presence of whatever fur he specifies. He may also perform the oracle to learn another person's luck, and Old Man did this for his son-in-law, Hans, who was already away on his trap line. In Old Man's case the oracle promised him one lynx and some other species of fur; unfortunately when he left several days later he found his traps completely bare of fur. In Hans's case, however, the promised two lynx were duly found in the young man's traps.

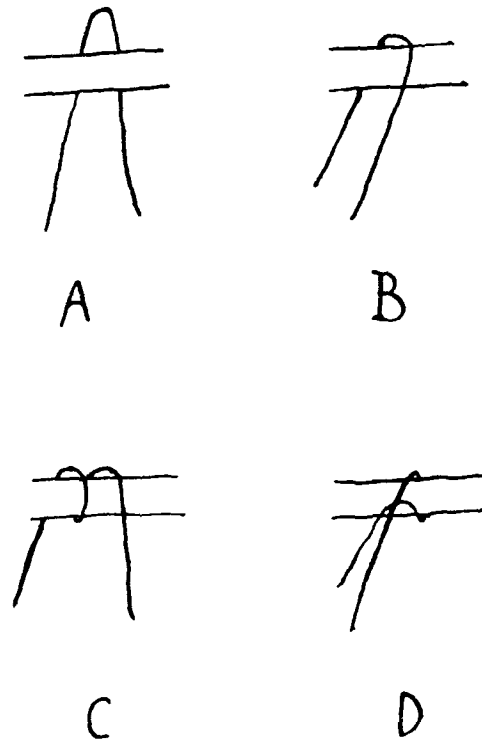


FIG. 2.—UNWINDING THE FOUR ANSWERS

Depending on conscious or unconscious sleight of hand in unwinding the line—that is, one strand of line is one or more times flipped across the stick independently of its companion—this oracle was used in the aboriginal society by individuals who, by virtue of being befriended by a supernatural animal power, enjoyed the status of shamans. Such persons knew a variety of spectacular conjurations and often matched their skills in competitive contests. For examples, see Osgood, C., 'The Ethnography of the Tanaina,' *Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, No. 16, New Haven, 1937, pp. 180-181.

Other forms of divination and revelation in use among the Kaska are not many. They include, however, consulting tea leaves to learn a hunter's prospects, as well as prophecy through the interpretation of dreams and by intuition. Aboriginally scapulimancy was a common feature of this as well as other Northern Athapaskan people. People also have their decisions confirmed by fire. That is, a man who is undecided about a course of action may hear a camp- or stove-fire cracking. 'When you think of something and fire crack,' our informant explained, 'that's ghost telling you "yes" or "no." He knows your mind. If you want to hunt, he tell you "kling, kling—hurry up." Sometimes he says "yes" or "no." You just guess it, that's all.'

JOHN J. HONIGMAN
IRMA HONIGMAN

Pullman, Wash., U.S.A.



a



b



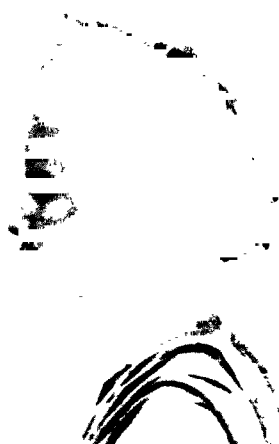
c



d



e



f

THE PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE WEST SAHARAN NOMADS

a, b, Saharan of Type 1 — *c, d*, Saharan of Type 2 — *e, f*, a *negritum*

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

THE PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE WEST SAHARAN NOMADS. *By Santiago Alcobé, Professor of Anthropology, University of Barcelona. The substance of a Lecture read to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 28 May, 1946. With Plate K and illustration in text*

160 During the winter of 1944 I was able to investigate the physical anthropology of the inhabitants of the western Sahara. Among these nomads tribal endogamy seems to be the rule, at least among the larger tribes. There are a number of negro slaves in nearly all of them. A special caste is constituted by the *majarreros*, artisans who work in metals, wood and leather, and who join one or another tribe indiscriminately. There are no fixed tribal boundaries, and groups wander widely (see fig. 1). I was therefore able to collect data referring to very distant tribes—for example, some individuals from Mauretania.

I studied 270 males, not counting a small number of negro slaves. Among the more important morphological features, the following give a general idea of the physical types encountered. In comparing single characters, only those differences will be noticed which can be statistically assured with a probability of at least 90 per cent.

Stature. The mean of total and tribal samples is around 165 cm., and the variability is not specially large. Both in general and in the large Erguibat and Izarguén tribes two sub-groups may be distinguished: a shorter one with modal values between 161 and 163 cm., and a taller one with modes between 165 and 168 cm.

Among North Africans, the Riffians and the Shawia and the Libyan Kabyles are taller, while the Shluh are not significantly different: only a few groups are shorter. Much taller are the noble Tuareg, with a difference between means of up to 8 cm. Less difference has been observed with the Tebu of Kufra, and among Ethiopians some groups agree with the west Saharan nomads.

Relative sitting height. Mean values are mesatiskelic and their variability is small. Curves are nearly regular. There is less difference here than in stature in comparison with other North or Central African populations: though the Tuareg are strongly macroskelic.

Constitutional appearance. The great majority are leptosomatic, like the Tuareg. Muscles may be well developed and sometimes strong, but only about 7 per cent. of athletic or sub-athletic individuals were noted. Pycnics are still more exceptional.

Similarity of environmental conditions largely explains the similarity of body structure. Inheritance apparently plays the largest part in preventing athletic muscular development, but the environment is at least as much responsible for fat accumulation as any inherited tendency.

Cephalic index. Dolichocephalic, around 74, without statistically assured difference from many North African and Ethiopic populations. The mesocephalic Shawia and Libyan Kabyles show a difference, and probably the Tebu. There are no brachycephals, and more than two-thirds have an index below 76. Bimodal curves show a secondary maximum at 71 or 72.

Face form. Leptoprosopic with mean at 90, like many North Africans and Tuareg. There is a significant difference from the mesoprosopic Libyan Kabyles and Tebu. Nevertheless, there is a secondary grouping, within the limits of the latter. The most characteristic outline is oval, strongly narrowing to the chin: more quadrangular forms are less frequent.

Nose form. Leptorrhine, with means around 64. Even secondary modal values remain leptorrhine. Only the mean obtained for Mauretania men is nearly mesorrhine. Nose form is much closer to North African populations than to the mixed groups of the Sudan, whose means are always above 80. Nasal profile is frequently convex: only about 32 per cent. of the observed individuals have a straight profile, and a concave form is exceptional. The profile usually has an appearance quite different from the so-called Arabic or Semitic nose.

Membranous lips. 30 per cent. have more or less thick forms: bulky ones with nearly negro character do not much exceed 8 per cent.

Pigmentation. Eyes usually black or dark brown; only about 4 per cent. of mixed iris. Skin colour usually brown with a yellowish tint, seldom dark brown and rarely brown-black. I found no trace of the reddish tint apparently common among Ethiopians. The darkest pigmentation may be combined with Europoid facial traits, resembling the Ethiopians rather than the Tebu. Hair colour is nearly always black. The Mauretanians observed were the most strongly pigmented. Blondism occurs, but very rarely.

Hair form. Usually curly; worn to a length of about 20 cm. Waves may be deep, occasionally low (5 per cent.); straight hair is rare (1 per cent.); sometimes woolly. A frizzly form, indicative of negro mixture, is also found; but curly and long hair predominates, with medium deep waves, differing from the usual form in recent White-Negro crosses: perhaps more like certain eastern Ethiopian forms.

Type 2 is not so easy to distinguish. The more important differences relate to the facial traits: facial outline is more quadrangular and less markedly leptoprosopic; bigonial breadth is larger; the nose has a straight profile and is lower, but its index remains below the limit of leptorrhiny or does not much exceed it; brow ridges strongly developed, nose root depressed and eyes deeply set; orbits seem to be low; forehead may be lower and more oblique; hair often curly, but low waves perhaps more frequent (see Plate K, c, d).

This type, which resembles Cromagnon-like forms, is not so common as Type 1. They are widely crossed with each other, so that every mixed form may be expected. Both may show evidence of recent inter-breeding with negroes, which, however, does not seem to have much affected the racial complex of west Saharans. Tribal differences may be observed:



FIG. 1.—A NOMAD'S TENT, WITH RESERVE FIREWOOD AND THE "GUIRBE" (GOATSKIN FOR CARRYING WATER)

Blood groups. An account of this has already been published. Here it need only be emphasized that in blood-group distribution west Saharans are more similar to negro or largely negro-mixed populations than to North African Berbers and Arabs: a discrepancy with their morphological features.

With regard to the somatic racial types: there is a very common type which greatly influences the mean values and the distributions, and which I provisionally call Type 1. It can be described as follows: medium stature: leptosomatic constitution: long head, high forehead, pronounced occipital prominence: high, oval face strongly narrowing to the chin: nose harmonic with the face, often with convex profile: lips somewhat thick but seldom bulky: skin colour varying from light brown with a yellowish tint to dark brown: dark eyes, sometimes brown-green mixed: black hair, long and curly (see Plate K, a, b).

for example, the Mauretanians studied were more negro-mixed.

The separate low caste of the *majarreros* is largely affected by negro mixture. Every degree of mixed types is to be found among them, but inter-breeding between *majarreros* and Saharans proper is rare (see Plate K, e, f).

The biological significance and origin of Type 1, which can be considered as basic for west Saharans, present a difficult problem, for historical data concerning the wanderings of peoples in this territory are lacking and skeletal remains of Pluvial and post-Pluvial periods are scanty. One of the most characteristic features, the hair form, seems to resemble that of east Ethiopians, whose origin is still under discussion. An Ethiopian background has sometimes been assumed for most Saharan populations, but other authors disagree, believing that they have only

Berberic traits in common. Type 1 is most characteristic among the people of the Spanish Sahara.

It is superfluous to insist upon differences due to near neighbourhood with negro groups. But how far can 'Berber' be applied to populations in a biological sense? This has been one of the causes of confusion. Puccioni, for instance, says that a low face is characteristic of this archaic Berberic background. This cannot apply to the long-faced Type 1, but would be more like Type 2, which does not constitute the quantitatively more important element for west Saharans.

After all comparisons a single typological background for several distinct populations may be assumed; but this type seems not to be the same as among North African Berbers, and not even Cromagnonoid. Concerning its origin, three hypotheses may be considered:

(i) It might result from inter-breeding between an old white element—afterwards identified with the Berbers—and negroes. But it has been shown that the appearance of west Saharans is not like actual White-Negro crosses. If a medium character may be assumed as common for hair form, it is different when we consider the occurrence of other features, including blood groups, so that there is no parallelism between their frequencies.

(ii) Perhaps inter-crossing is responsible for this somatic type, having taken place very early, between pre-Mediterranean and pre-negroid populations. If so the discrepancies in the occurrence of different morphological features and even of blood groups, could be more easily understood.

(iii) The third hypothesis is more speculative—that

the main Saharan type may have developed without inter-breeding. A branch of the Mediterraneans, or even pre-Mediterraneans, may have undergone mutations resulting in a new somatic type. This hypothesis can be easily related to the second one.

My own opinion is that the common background is represented in the west Sahara by Type 1. The forms of Type 2 were added to this, and more recently some Arabic and negro elements. Different circumstances of inter-breeding and isolation may have fixed several different types, mainly derived from the fundamental one. Wider research, both biological and cultural, is required, however, before we can assert this definitely.

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EARLY FOREIGN TRADE IN EAST AFRICA. By G. A. Wainwright. Illustrated

161 In Pharaonic times the Egyptians had been accustomed to send expeditions now and again to the country the name of which they wrote as *Punt* (Punt as we have generally called it), but which they probably pronounced as *Puênet* or *Pwêne*¹. This, however, was only the African shores of the Red Sea and probably hardly farther south than Suakin, or at the farthest perhaps Massawa (Adulê). But these expeditions were only so very occasionally undertaken² that Hatshepsut was almost literally justified in saying, 'No one trod the myrrh-terraces, which the people [the Egyptians] knew not: it was heard of from mouth to mouth by hearsay of the ancestors.'³ As shown in note 2, so far as we know there had been no expedition thither for four hundred years before her time. As a rule the products of Pwênet (Punt) would have percolated through to Egypt by the indirect channels of intermediaries. In

fact, Amûn says so in some detail, when he reminds Hatshepsut, 'The marvels brought thence under thy fathers, the Kings of Lower Egypt, were brought from one to another, and since the time of the ancestors of the Kings of Upper Egypt, who were of old, as a return for many payments: none reaching them except thy carriers.'⁴ It is suggestive that the name of the leader of the expedition was Nehesy 'Sudany.'⁵ implying as it does that as a southerner he was more suitable for the undertaking than an Egyptian would have been. No doubt he, or others like him, had been among these intermediaries. A picture (fig. 1), probably dating from the reign of Amenhotep II, c. 1447-1420 B.C., shows such intermediaries, or rather people of Pwênet themselves, bringing their merchandize to Egypt on sailing rafts.⁶ In the rest of the picture even the arrival of the Egyptian functionary with his goods for barter is shown and

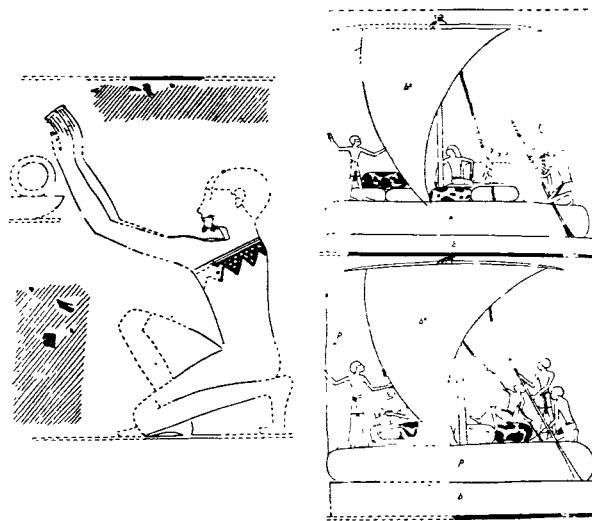


FIG. 1.—BRINGING MERCHANDISE FROM PUNT TO EGYPT ON SAILING RAFTS

(After Davies: see Note 6)

then his start back again for Thebes with what he had purchased from the seafarers.⁷

What the Egyptians fetched away from Pwênēt was primarily myrrh and incense, though Hatshepsut lists many other things, such as ivory, ebony, leopard skins,⁸ fragrant woods, electrum (silver-gold), etc.⁹ She also shows the trade goods which the Egyptians brought for exchange, such as strings of beads, axes, daggers and bracelets, and, to win the goodwill of the chiefs, wine, beer and food of various sorts.¹⁰ All of these trade goods and presents are just what fifteen hundred years later the sea captain found useful in these parts as far south as the Zanzibar neighbourhood.¹¹ Indeed, they are much what Europe traded with to West Africa until very recent times. Thus, the earlier direct trade was only desultory and very occasional.

Although Pharaonic Egypt had nothing to do with the East African coast beyond the Red Sea, that does not mean that another country had not. This other country was the south Arabian state of Ausan, which lay somewhere along the sea coast near Aden and inland as far as Katabân.¹² It had been an independent kingdom, but was conquered by a certain king who fortunately can be dated, and that to about 700 B.C.¹³ During its independence Ausan had had dealings with, if it had not indeed held, the East African coast, of which a happy chance has preserved the memory. It is to be found in the name 'the Ausanitic coast' still applied in the first century A.D. to the country for a day and a night's journey northwards from Menuthias (Zanzibar).¹⁴ That the name should have lasted so long shows how firmly established Ausan's hold must have been.

The next news we hear of foreign trade is of that

coming from Egypt once more, and now the expeditions were continuous for a hundred years or so. But, even so, the trade was still mainly confined to the Red Sea, though now it reached out beyond it nearly as far as Cape Guardafui. These expeditions were those maintained along these remote shores by Ptolemy II (283-245 B.C.) and his successors until Ptolemy V (203-181 B.C.), and their purpose was to catch elephants for the wars against the Seleucids of Syria, though no doubt they did not ignore the incense, ebony, ivory and other valuables. We have evidence that Ptolemy III's people (245-222 B.C.) established themselves as far inland as Aksum in north-eastern Abyssinia, and by the end of the period of expansion the adventurers had pushed along nearly as far as Cape Guardafui, the Horn of Africa.¹⁵

However, the cessation of the elephant hunts did not mean that intercourse ceased. When these expeditions were closing down a company of men raised a loan for a trading voyage to the Incense Country. We still have the bond, which dates to the first half or possibly to the middle of the second century B.C.¹⁶ At the end of the century we have evidence that by the time of Ptolemy X Soter (115-80 B.C.) traders had pushed as far as Msasani, a little north of Dar es-Salâm, where a coin of this king has been found.¹⁷ It was no doubt from as early a date as this that the New Year festival of the aborigines of Makunduchi on the island of Zanzibar originates, for it bears a striking resemblance to the ceremonies of Pharaonic Egypt.¹⁸ There is also the festival of the coming ashore from a canoe of a 'devil' bearing a trident which must clearly go back to the Greek Poseidon.¹⁹ Yet another relic of ancient Egypt is reported from near Msasani and Zanzibar; in this case inland from Mafia Island. Here hippopotamus meat is considered good for pregnant women, which idea is no doubt derived from the Egyptian hippopotamus goddess Ta-Urt (Thouëris), the patroness of pregnancy and childbirth.²⁰ It is evident that the country round about Zanzibar was impregnated with influences from Ptolemaic Egypt. At any rate, if not as old as the time of the Ptolemies, these things would date from the centuries immediately afterwards, when once again we have evidence of traders coming from Egypt, and they were 'Greeks,' that is to say, Greek-speakers with Greek culture.

However, in the period between the time when we lose sight of Ptolemy V's huntsmen somewhere to the west of Cape Guardafui and Ptolemy X's subjects at Msasani, some Jewish trader had pushed far beyond any of his competitors and reached Natal at the extreme south of the east coast. There, at Marianhill, just inland from Durban, there has been dug up a copper coin of Simon Maccabæus, who was reigning 143-136 B.C.²¹ It must have been from a few bold

spirits such as this man that about A.D. 60 the sea captain learned to write in his *Periplus*: 'for beyond these places the unexplored ocean curves around towards the west, and running along by the regions to the south of Aethiopia and Libya and Africa, it mingles with the western sea.'²² As a matter of fact, the Jewish trader was not the first to go as far south, for Necho's Phœnicians, marvellous though their accomplishment was, had already sailed right round Africa about 600 B.C.²³

The next information as to foreign trade after 143-136 B.C. comes from about A.D. 60, when the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* was written.²⁴ The sea captain gives a detailed account of the ports and of the goods which were acceptable at each and of what the natives were able to offer in exchange. He tells of goods which were imported not only from Egypt but also from India,²⁵ and that there was a trading colony of Greeks, Indians and Arabs settled on the Island of Socotra (Dioscorida).²⁶ He also tells us that the ruler of Mapharitis (Ma'âfir on the south-west Arabian coast) ruled the east African coast about Rhapta by an arrangement which was then already of long standing. This place Rhapta (either Bagamoyo or Dar es-Salâm)²⁷ was as far as the sea captain went, and he says that it was 'the very last market-town of the continent of Azania.'²⁸

This it evidently was, for not only was it the farthest place to which the sea captain was accustomed to go, but a couple of generations later Ptolemy's information shows the same thing. His lists and latitudes give precise information carrying the reader down the coast as far as Rhapta, where they stop, and it is only in his geographical discussions elsewhere in his book that he shows that he had ever heard of anything farther to the south. In Book I. 7. §2, he mentions a promontory which he calls Prasum and which he says 'lies under the parallel which terminates the most southerly portion of the known world,' and in Book IV, 8. §1, he gives its position as 80° [E] by 15° [S]. While Prasum cannot be absolutely identified, it is with little doubt intended for Cape Delgado,²⁹ or its immediate neighbourhood. But even this is not so far south as the Phœnicians and the Jewish trader had penetrated.

From Prasum our evidence of trade stretches away south-eastwards to Madagascar and south-westwards towards what was later to become the Zimbabwe country.³⁰ A relic of trade comes from Bindura, a place on the upper Mazoe River some 200 miles north of Zimbabwe. Here was found a copper coin of Claudius Gothicus (A.D. 268-270).³¹ Shortly after this Madagascar comes into the story, where, at Majunga on the north-west coast, a coin of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306-337) has come to light.³² Majunga is a port on the estuary of one of the main

rivers, affording a passage right up into the heart of the island. It also faces the Comoro Islands, which form a half-way house on a voyage from Prasum (Cape Delgado). Gautier says the coin may have been brought by the Himyarites of southern Arabia, for they used Roman money. But whether the traders were Himyarites or Roman subjects the coin is dated evidence for early trade with the outside world.³³

After this we return to the mainland, where beads have been found far inland in a cave at Messina. Messina is on the south bank of the Limpopo about 150 miles almost due south of Zimbabwe. On examining these beads Flinders Petrie said that they were of types which came into use in the Roman Empire in the fifth century A.D.³⁴

Thus, we have evidence of trade gradually creeping down the coast. Even before 700 B.C. the south-western Arabians had established themselves up and down the coast between Cape Guardafui and Dar es-Salâm, and eight hundred years later they were still in authority in the Bagamoyo and Dar es-Salâm country. By the middle of the second century B.C. Marianhill (Durban) had been visited. Less than a couple of generations later traders had left evidence of themselves at Msasani and had presumably introduced their customs to the island of Zanzibar. By about A.D. 60 the conditions and route were well known as far south as Prasum. Hence, it is in accord with the known conditions on the coast that inland we should have the third-century coin from Bindura, the fifth-century beads from Messina and the fourth-century coin from the north-west coast of Madagascar. True, the evidence is slight, but then no doubt the trade was also. The evidence is also scattered over a vast territory, but still it all comes from the same range of centuries, and in its later phases it all radiates south-east and south-west from Prasum. Moreover, it will not escape notice that the inland finds come from the periphery of what was later to become the Zimbabwe country.

In considering the value of the evidence provided by these coins it is necessary to remember the possibility that they may have been brought in modern times by Greek petty traders. There are large numbers of these men everywhere from Cape Colony to the Zambezi, and they have all come from Egypt. There they follow similar callings and generally have in their possession a few small antiquities or forgeries. At the beginning of the present century many hundreds of small Egyptian antiquities were in this way brought to South Africa, where the small local museums are full of them.³⁵ However, one cannot but feel that this is not the explanation of the presence of our coins: the following facts seem to guarantee their authenticity. In the first place, they form a group, all coming from consecutive centuries, the third, fourth and fifth,

Then there is the supporting evidence of the Messina beads which come from one of these centuries, the fifth, and are most unlikely to have been brought by modern Greeks and then buried in a cave. Moreover, the coins form a gradual extension farther south of a trade which is proved for the middle of the first century to have reached as far as the Zanzibar area. Finally, the finds fan out south-east and south-west from what was recorded in the second century as the most southerly place then known. Hence, it seems justifiable to consider that these objects arrived in antiquity, and on that supposition we may proceed to enquire by what route they came.

How then did trade reach the interior? Centuries later the great port of the Arabs for this part of the coast was Sofalah. But did Sofalah exist in those early days? Presumably not, for the site was only discovered through a ship of Mogadishu having been driven there by a storm. Mogadishu itself was a colony of Emosais from the Persian Gulf who only landed there about the middle of the eighth century A.D., and as late as the early tenth century the Sofalah trade was still a monopoly of the Mogadishu merchants.³⁶ Therefore, Sofalah could not have been founded before the end of the eighth century at the earliest. The non-existence of Sofalah in early times accords with the facts that in those days Prasum was reckoned as the most southerly place known and that the sea captain in his *Periplus* did not go so far south even as that. In other words, this means that Prasum was the most southerly place that shipping might occasionally reach, though actually, as the coin at Marianhill (Durban) shows, it had now and again been passed. The presumption must, therefore, be that any intercourse with the far interior before the eighth century did not come from Sofalah but from Prasum, as no doubt it did when it reached Majunga in Madagascar.

River valleys form lines of communication. Hence, one is immediately struck with the fact that a great river, the Ruvuma, flows out at Prasum itself, and it is noticeable that its equally great tributary, the Lujenda, leads straight in the direction of the mouth of the Mazoe River. In early days it was the Mazoe that gave access to the south, for it was from Masapa on the lower reaches of this river that the Portuguese maintained relations with the Monomotapa.³⁷ It therefore seems significant that it is on the upper reaches of this very Mazoe River that Bindura lies, where someone had brought the third-century coin of Claudius Gothicus. Could this coin have come from Prasum up the Ruvuma and Lujenda Rivers? ³⁸ It certainly looks like it. Moreover, the great slave route of the nineteenth century from the southern end of Lake Nyasa to Kilwah came down the Lujenda (Liende) valley ³⁹ showing that this was the natural

road to and from the south-west. Further, from the point of view of the sailor arriving to trade the neighbourhood is advantageous. The Ruvuma has a magnificent bay and no bar, rarities in African rivers.⁴⁰ Yet again, only twenty-five miles away to the north there is Mikindany Bay, which is a much better harbour than the mouth of the Ruvuma itself and is the finest port on the coast. The winds there are extremely convenient; the evening one, which is easterly, brings the dhows in, and the morning one, being westerly, takes them out. It was at Mikindany that Livingstone landed in 1866 and from there that he started for his journey up the Ruvuma.⁴¹

It is true that the Shiré River and the Zambezi would both have to be crossed before the Mazoe could be reached, but these present no difficulties. The great slave route just mentioned crossed the Shiré a little below its exit from Lake Nyasa and there was another crossing just below the lakelet of Pama-lombe.⁴² Similarly, at certain times of the year and at certain places the great Zambezi can also be crossed quite easily. One of these places, Tete, is of special interest to this enquiry, being situated not so very far from the junction of the Mazoe River with the Zambezi. It was here, where the river is about 1,000 yards wide, that the Ama-Zimba and the Ama-Mbo crossed about A.D. 1575, probably on rafts made of reeds.⁴³ In early Portuguese days Tete on the southern bank of the Zambezi was a great trading centre, whence goods were carried far and wide. Fairs were already being held on that bank of the river, and probably at that site, before the actual name of Tete is recorded.⁴⁴

It is much to be hoped that further and well authenticated finds will add to our knowledge of the trade route by which this very early trade was maintained with the interior of Africa.

Hitherto the chain of finds has been steady and continuous, but now comes a gap of several hundred years. It is not until the eighth and ninth centuries that it becomes possible to pick up the threads once more, and then they lead back to quite a different part of the world. It is no longer the Mediterranean peoples, or perhaps more probably the southern Arabians, of whom we find relics, but eastern Asiatics, people from south India, Malaya, Borneo and even China. The Indonesians of Sumatra had discovered and had begun to colonize Madagascar by the second century A.D.⁴⁵ At the end of the tenth century another wave of their colonization of the island took place, but though in the interval between the two waves trade goods from their part of the world have been found on the mainland, they do not seem to have succeeded in establishing themselves there.⁴⁶

Once more we turn to the Zimbabwe area and this time to Zimbabwe itself. In the lowest levels at this

site there have been found beads of south Indian, Malayan and Bornean origin, which in their own countries can be dated to the eighth and ninth centuries.⁴⁷ Another place whence beads of this same date have come is some ancient gold-workings at Buluwayo. Like the earlier sites, Bindura and Messina, Buluwayo is on the periphery of the Zimbabwe country, being 150 miles or so due west of that great centre. When the Buluwayo beads were submitted to Petrie, he gave it as his opinion that they might well be of early Arab date, naming these very eighth and ninth centuries A.D.⁴⁸

These two centuries were a period of considerable sea-borne trade from the remoter east.⁴⁹ Chinese snuff bottles of the roughest porcelain are not uncommonly found in upper Egypt, mostly at Kosseir, Quft, Qus and Thebes, *i.e.* at and near the ends of the caravan road from the Red Sea. They are dated by the verses which they bear, for these all come from poets who flourished in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries.⁵⁰ Chinese coins of the eighth and ninth centuries have been found on the east African coast at Mogadishu, Kilwah and on the Mafia Islands.⁵¹

At this time the Arabs and Persians were evidently active in these southern seas, and even in a warlike capacity. It can be calculated that it was about A.D. 800 that the Muslims took possession of Madagascar, or perhaps more probably one of the Comoro Islands.⁵² After this we hear a good deal of the east coast of Africa from the Arab authors. Mas'udi, the earliest of them, had already set out on his travels before A.D. 915, and he gives an account of the peoples of these countries.⁵³ From him we first hear of Sofalah, a town which he often mentions. The ninth and tenth centuries saw also the founding of the great buildings at Zimbabwe.⁵⁴

Notes

¹ In *Zeits. f. Eingeborenen-Sprachen*, XII (1921-2), p. 305, Meinhof compares the Egyptian *Pwénet* to the Swahili *pwani*, 'coast.' I am informed that the Swahili word means the strip of beach left dry as opposed to *ufuoni*, the part lapped by the waves. The coincidence is remarkable, for *Pwénet* has no explanation in Egyptian and would therefore be a foreign word, while such a word as *pwani* would make a singularly appropriate name. Yet it appears from enquiry among Bantuists that the Swahili word belongs to a widespread Bantu root *pwā*, 'to dry.' Thus, there can hardly be a direct connexion between it and the Egyptian *Pwénet*, which was already in use c. 2725 B.C. Can it be that both words are derived from some other and ancient African language?

² Those of which a record has been preserved to us before Hatshepsut are conveniently listed by Breasted in his *Ancient Records of Egypt*, II, §247. They and the later ones are given here with the dates attached: Sahurê, c. 2725 B.C.; Iseki, c. 2675 B.C.; Pepi II, c. 2550 B.C., who sent out several expeditions, one of which was cut up by the desert-dwellers before it had set sail from the Egyptian port; Mentuhotep III, c. 2025 B.C.; Amenemhêt II, c. 1910 B.C.; Senusert II, c. 1905 B.C.; Hatshepsut, c. 1510 B.C.; Horemheb, c. 1325 B.C.; Ramesses III, c. 1175 B.C. That is a total of about nine or more in some 1,700 odd years. Amenhotep III, c. 1400 B.C., may have sent expeditions (II, §892), as may Seti, c. 1300 B.C. (III, §116), but

the references only occur in hymns of general glorification. No doubt there were others of which we have no record, but even when they are allowed for that does not make very many. However, it does show that *Pwénet* was never entirely neglected by the Egyptians.

³ *Ibid.* II, §287.

⁴ *Ibid.* II, §287 = Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, III, Pl. LXXXIV, lines 11, 12, and p. 19. 'None reaching them except thy carriers' would mean that Hatshepsut's expedition was the only one to go there.

⁵ Breasted, II, §290 = Naville, *op. cit.*, III, Pl. LXXXVI, above the first man at the bottom of the plate, and p. 21. Breasted's doubt whether Nehehy was the actual conductor of the expedition seems unnecessary. Even if he did not actually go to *Pwénet* on this occasion, he knew how the expedition should be organized.

⁶ N. de G. Davies in *Bull. Metrop. Mus. of Art* (N.Y.), Nov. 1935, Section II, 'The Egyptian Expedition, 1934-35,' p. 47, fig. 2, which is reproduced here. The rafts were no doubt just what were used in the first century A.D. by the *Ascitæ*, a tribe of south Arabian pirates. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 29 (34), 176, describes the rafts as composed of a deck covering a pair of ox skins. At this same time we are told of 'the Berbers themselves crossing on rafts to Ocelis and Muza' (in Arabia, from Avalites on the northern Somali coast): see W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 25, §7. In §27 the *Periplus* says that at Cana, Hism al-Ghurab on the south coast of Arabia, the incense was brought 'on rafts held up by inflated skins after the manner of the country.' At the northern end of the Red Sea the Nabataeans were accustomed to go plundering on rafts (Strabo, XVI, 4, §18). In fact, such craft were so characteristic that in his *Nat. Hist.*, VII, 56 (57), 206, Pliny says that in early days 'rafts were used for navigation, having been invented by King Erythras for use between the islands in the Red Sea.'

⁷ Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 48, fig. 3.

⁸ About A.D. 1150 leopard skins were still an important export from East Africa, at this time from Manisa (Mombasa) and Zanzibar, according to Edrisi (Güllam, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale*, I, pp. 206f.).

⁹ Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, §§265, 272, etc. References to Naville are given in each case. Some small pictures of the products of Hatshepsut's expedition are given by Puyemrê, one of her officials (N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes*, I, Pls. XXXII, XXXIV, and pp. 84-87). They add nothing to those of Deir el Bahari.

¹⁰ Naville, *op. cit.*, III, Pls. LXIX, lowest register, LXXII, and pp. 14f.

¹¹ See Schoff, *Periplus*: 'copper which is cut up for bracelets and anklets for the women . . . small axes are imported and adzes and swords . . . wine of Laodicea and Italy not much' (§6). 'Juice of sour grapes from Diospolis . . . wheat and wine' (§7). For the Zanzibar area 'lances made at Muza especially for this trade, and hatchets and daggers and awls . . . and at some places a little wine and wheat, not for trade, but to serve for getting the good will of the savages' (§17).

¹² F. Hommel in D. Nielsen and others, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde* I, pp. 60, 81 and cf. p. 112.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 83. This king was Kariba-ilu Watar, and is named by Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 B.C.), as 'Kariba-ilu, King of the Land of Saba,' p. 76. (Cf. note 27.)

¹⁴ Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 28, §15, and note on p. 94.

¹⁵ Wainwright in *Journ. Eg. Arch.* XXVII, p. 141 = MAN, 1940, 192, or MAN, 1942, 43.

¹⁶ Wainwright in MAN, 1942, 43.

¹⁷ Ingram in MAN, 1925, 86.

¹⁸ Wainwright in MAN, 1940, 192 = *J.E.A.*, XXVII, p. 140.

¹⁹ *Id. ib.* = *J.E.A.*, XXVII, p. 142.

²⁰ *Id. ib.* = *J.E.A.*, XXVII, p. 142.

²¹ Otto and Stratman in *Anthropos*, IV (1909), pp. 168f. and fig. In *J.R.A.I.*, LX, p. 393, Trevor reports the finding of a gold Maccabean coin at Pinetown, which is evidently a reference, though less accurate, to the same find.

²² Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 29, §18, and note on p. 101.

²³ Herodotus IV, 42. Cary and Warrington, *The Ancient Explorers*, pp. 87-95 and map facing p. 88, have given careful

study to Herodotus' account, the rates of sailing, the winds, the currents, etc., and come to the conclusion that the undertaking was quite possible in the three years named. The currents would have been in the explorers' favour until West Africa was reached. The mention of the change in the position of the sun is correct, incredible though it appeared to Herodotus. The only thing left to marvel at is the boldness of the undertaking. One hundred and twenty-five years or so after Necho and his Phœnicians, the story of Sataspes (Herodotus, IV. 43) shows that it was known to be possible to sail round Africa, though to be sent on such an expedition was considered worse than a sentence of death (cf. Cary and Warmington, pp. 95-97).

²⁴ For the date see the discussion in Schoff, pp. 7-15, and the summing up in favour of A.D. 60 on p. 15.

²⁵ Schoff, *op. cit.*, §§6, 14.

²⁶ *Id. ib.*, §30 and notes thereto on pp. 133f.

²⁷ *Id. ib.*, p. 94, note to §16. The arrangement was that it should be ruled by the state that was the leading one of Arabia. At one time this had been Ausan, as the name 'Ausanic Coast' shows. As Ausan was destroyed about 700 B.C., this gives evidence of how ancient the arrangement was. Cf. note 13.

²⁸ *Id. ib.*, p. 28, §16.

²⁹ *Id. ib.*, p. 94, note to §16.

³⁰ A coin of Antonius Pius of A.D. 138 is often quoted as having come from Umtali, a site of the Zimbabwe culture, but it is now said not to have come from Rhodesia at all (R. N. Hall and W. G. Neal, *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, p. 143).

³¹ Roberts in *Nada*, VIII, pp. 45f. and Plate.

³² E. F. Gautier, *Quatenus Indici Oceani Pars* (Paris, 1902), p. 60.

³³ By this time the Indonesians had discovered and had begun to colonize Madagascar (see Ferrand in *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, 1936, s.v. 'Madagascar,' p. 74). This earlier migration of theirs took place during the second to fourth centuries A.D.

³⁴ Trevor, *loc. cit.*

³⁵ Von Luschan in *Zeits. f. Ethnologie*, XXXVIII (1906), p. 888, describes how he was actually present with the Director of the Pretoria Museum when two Greeks came in and offered a small Osiris figure and a Ptolemaic coin. On pp. 896-902 Schäfer shows that the famous Egyptian figure from Rhodesia is a modern forgery. The type is well known in Cairo and Luxor and such figures can be bought for a few pence each.

³⁶ Robinson in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, iii, pp. 44, 46.

³⁷ G. McC. Theal, *The Portuguese in South Africa*, pp. 179f.

³⁸ Could the Messina beads have drifted onwards from the Mazoe River along the watershed and then down one of the tributaries of the Limpopo River?

³⁹ D. and C. Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries*, p. 442.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

⁴¹ H. Waller, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone*, I, p. 11. On p. 15 the Mikindany harbour is described as having a deep, narrow entrance, and as being quite secure and protected from all winds inside. A hill above it forms a landmark by which the Arab sailors find the entrance, and stone ruins show that it was formerly a place of some importance. The description of Livingstone's journey up the Ruvuma

valley will be found on pp. 21-45. Livingstone's large-scale map at the end of the book shows the rather noticeable Promontory of Jaw protecting Mikindany Bay on the north. Might this be Prasum? It is about fifty miles north of Cape Delgado.

⁴² D. and C. Livingstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 124, 128, 393. The water in the Shiré falls very low at times (p. 427) and becomes too shallow to float a vessel drawing five feet of water (p. 351).

⁴³ J. H. Soga, *The South-Eastern Bantu*, pp. 49f.

⁴⁴ Theal, *op. cit.*, p. 133, note 1.

⁴⁵ *Encyclopædia of Islam*, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁶ In A.D. 945-6 an attempted invasion of Pemba by a thousand vessels is recorded. These are thought to be canoes from the colonies of Orientals settled in the Comoro Islands and northern Madagascar (Robinson in *Tang. Not. and Rec.*, III, p. 46).

⁴⁷ Beck in Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, pp. 229, 232-237.

⁴⁸ Petrie in MAN, 1904, 70.

⁴⁹ All the Chinese things recorded in this paragraph were no doubt brought by Persians and Arabs rather than by Chinese. Hadi Hasan, *A History of Persian Navigation* (London, 1928), says that the Arabs had sailed as far as Ceylon in pre-Muslim days, but that it was left to the Persians to push on to China (p. 85). In A.D. 671 a Chinaman records that he sailed from Canton to Sumatra in a Persian ship (p. 97). In A.D. 727 Persians sailed direct to Canton (p. 109). In A.D. 748 there was a large Persian village on the island of Hainan (p. 98), and in A.D. 758 Arabs and Persians sacked and burned Canton (pp. 99, 102). A hundred and twenty years later the tables were turned, for in A.D. 878 Arabs and Persians were massacred at that city along with Jews and Christians (p. 105).

⁵⁰ Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (1878, ed. S. Birch), II, pp. 152-154, and fig. 384. One of the present writer's workmen brought him one which was found while digging *sebakh* (nitrogenous earth from the ancient mounds) at his village of Zuweidah on the west bank of the Nile opposite Quft (Koptos). These little bottles are widely scattered over the Arab world, for Layard got two from Arban on the Khabur in north-western Mesopotamia (*Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 279). Perhaps some will be reported from East Africa. Many fragments of tenth-century Sung pottery are lying about at Aidhab (Suakin el Qadim) (Newbold in *Antiquity*, 1946, p. 181).

⁵¹ Revington in *Tang. Not. and Rec.*, I, p. 33.

⁵² Mas'udi says 'the Muslims took possession of this island (Qanbalu) taking prisoner all the Zeng population at the time of the conquest by the Muslims of the island of Crete in the Mediterranean, at the beginning of the Abbasid dynasty and about the end of the reign of the Omeyyads' (Maçoudi, *Les prairies d'or* (ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille), I, p. 205). The Abbasids overthrew the Omeyyads in A.D. 750 (Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*, 3rd ed., p. 435) and Crete fell into the hands of the Saracens in A.D. 825 (*Encyclopædia of Islam*, s.v. 'Crete,' p. 879). It had been temporarily occupied in A.D. 673). Therefore, the conquest of Qanbalu, which is generally accepted as being Madagascar, took place somewhere between A.D. 750 and 825.

⁵³ Maçoudi, *op. cit.*, *passim*. For his date see *The Encyclopædia of Islam*, s.v. 'Mas'udi,' p. 403.

⁵⁴ As shown by the beads found in the lowest layers: see note 47.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

The Karen People. By Saw Tha Din, Chairman, Karen Central Organization, and President, Karen National Association. A condensed version of a Communication to the Institute on 5 November, 1946.

The lecturer commenced by expressing his pleasure at having the opportunity to speak about his people, the Karen, and emphasized the importance of a knowledge

of Burma in this country, where Burma's constitution must be drawn up. He pointed out that owing to the war many more Englishmen than before have been to Burma, and paid a warm tribute to Force 136 and Wingate's Phantom Army, both almost entirely manned by Karens, Chins and Kachins, whose relations with the British elements of these forces were excellent.

The lecturer acknowledged his debt to the works of

Mason, Wade, Vinton, Gilmore, O'Riley, Sir Arthur Phayre, Smeaton, Harris and Marshall, but said that his talk would be mainly based on Karen tradition and folklore.

Name and Origin.—The Sgaw calls himself *Pwa-Ka-Nyaw*, meaning 'human being,' and the Bwe (Karenii) calls himself *Ka-Ya*, meaning the same thing. Tradition says that they came from the far north and had to cross a river called *Hti-seh-meh-gwa*, or 'river of water flowing with sand.' Dr. Marshall believes that it was the Ho-ang Ho, the Yellow River of China, with which conclusion many points in the tradition seem to agree. The Karen were traditionally the first occupants of the country. A Karen poem states that the Burmese dispossessed them of their country.

Physical Characteristics.—The Karen usually have broad jaw bones, big, well rounded calves, broad, well built bodies, and legs often short in proportion; skin 'varies from a light olive complexion to a dark coffee brown' (Marshall); hair is generally coarse, black and straight, sometimes wavy and light. The blue lumbar spot is common.

Mental and Moral Characteristics.—A Karen seldom speaks out except to intimates. He will not say when he is angry, and it is not unusual to find two persons not on speaking terms without knowing the reason. They simply look at one another out of the corner of their eyes. A Karen does not believe in showing off. He tries to hide what he knows or has, unlike neighbouring tribes.

Many people, who do not know the Karen well, say that they are serious and seldom laugh. They do not laugh before strangers, for it is bad manners, but among themselves there is no merrier people. They love music and singing.

They practise honesty to the point of absurdity. An Indian hawker exchanging a brooch for a chicken might arrange to take the chicken on his return, perhaps a year later. He would then get not only the chicken but also its offspring.

Birth, Marriage and Death.—No pregnant woman should take anything bitter; the husband usually avoids cutting his hair, and should be within call when his wife is in labour. Old women are usually invited to serve as midwives, and many of them are very competent. Turmeric is given freely to a woman after childbirth, both internally and externally. In the Brec country the husband must get new household equipment, and must not speak to anyone except his wife and the new-born child.

Until recently, mixed marriages were disliked. Inter-marriage, even between a Sgaw and a Pwo, is frowned upon, especially by the Sgaw. The most common form of marriage in the hills today is held by an elder at the bride's home. On entering the bridegroom is soaked to the skin with water, and his bride hands him a new suit. Then the bridegroom and his party enter the sitting room of the house, where the marriage ceremony is performed. The man and the woman eat and drink out of each other's hands, and vow to be true to one another. Guests are treated to strong country spirit, and pork curry is a favourite dish for such an occasion. After the ceremony the groom goes back home, to be taken to the bride's house a second time at dusk with song and music. As soon as the groom is taken to the bride's room the elder and friends leave for the common room, where the feast is continued till the small hours of the morning. It is not unusual to kill half a dozen hogs and distil a dozen jars of country spirit for a popular wedding.

Funerals are solemn, but without the breast-beating and loud crying of other Burmese peoples. Singing and recita-

tion of *Hta* are encouraged. The reason given is that long ago the White Python kidnapped a Karen beauty, but had to let her go; the Python took vengeance by killing people in great numbers, by striking their foot-prints, so they pretended to be happy, and this so angered the Python that it discharged all its venom, and to this day the Python has no venom. The ceremony of bone-picking and burning is peculiar to the Karen. It is as important as a big religious feast if the deceased happens to be a chief or an elder. Dancing, singing *Hta* and drinking may go on for days.

Naming.—A Karen may have as many as a dozen names. If, on the birth of a child, a guest by the name of John arrives in the village, it may be called John-*heh*, that is, 'John comes.' When John-*heh* has a child, he and his wife will be known as the parents of their first-born. If the first-born is Mary, the parents are known as Mary-*pa* and Mary-*mo*. If Mary has a child, Melvin, her parents are known as the grandfather and grandmother of Melvin, or Melvin-*pu* and Melvin-*pi*. The reason for this change is that it is bad manners to address an elder by his name.

Language.—Construction of sentences differs in Karen and Burmese. Let us take a sentence: 'He carries a book.' In Karen this is: *Ah-uai* (he) *soh* (carries) *leg* (book) *ta* (one) *bay* (copy); in Burmese: *Thu* (he) *sah-ok* (book) *ta* (one) *ok* (copy) *kaing-thee* (carries). The Karen language abounds with pairs. Words are sometimes paired merely for the sake of euphony; but it adds more force and gives more fullness to the meaning. For example, '*katayti kasawkwaw*'; the literal meaning is 'full grown horse, a striped elephant,' but the actual meaning is simply 'elephant.' There is no nasal tone in the Sgaw, but the Pwo has it; therefore there are separate scripts for the Pwo and the Sgaw. The Lai-kai script, which was found a few years ago in a cave in Thaton district and the Hla Gyaw script (Roman Karen) can be used for both the Pwo and the Sgaw.

Education.—The Karen have had their own schools, not state-aided, since they received their written script from the American missionaries. Many young Karen from Burma went to Thailand and opened schools for their people there, and many from Thailand came to study in the Karen schools, seminaries and college in Burma, after passing through their village schools. These schools in Thailand are maintained by the Karen leaders in Thailand with the help and co-operation of the Karen people in Burma. All teach the Karen language, which before the war was recognized up to matriculation. Many Karen leaders are considering taking over the Judson College, which at present has no status as an educational institution, though it did very well before the war.

Religion.—The Karen, unlike other races in Burma, have a traditional belief in God.

A Karen *Hta* runs in part as follows:

The Karen was the elder brother,
And obtained all the words of God.
God formerly loved the Karen nation above all others,
But because of their transgression, he cursed them,
And now they have no books.
Yet He will again have mercy on them.
And love them above all others. . . .

But the Karen king will yet appear.
When he arrives there will be but one monarch,
And there will be neither rich nor poor.
Everything will be happy. . . .

God left the Karen and they became a prey to all evils, so they had to appease the evil spirit. Not all the

Karen are Christians. There are many who do not believe that the Bible is 'The Book of Books, the Book of Silver and Gold,' but many would like to believe that Christianity is the religion to which they look forward.

Bwah or *Aw Bwah* is a propitiatory feast to which no outsider is admitted, performed by a senior woman of a family with her relatives in the female line. No visitor is received in the house where this feast is carried out. If anyone enters by mistake, a fresh start must be made. The spirits are called by name and offered the food that is prepared; the congregation must finish the balance or throw it away. No other person must partake of it, or the feast fails and another one must be performed.

Social Life.—The Karen perfected communism years ago, but they do not find it practicable while living with others. In the Karen hills, the barn is not built in the village or near the house, but near the paddy fields. Very few hill people now live in long houses, where every

family has its own compartment, though it was the older custom. More popular now is a village of circular plan with a guest house in the middle. A guest is fed without payment, and in the evening all who are free entertain him. This custom is on the wane, because criminals take advantage of it and the villagers find themselves in trouble; but receiving guests at home is still considered a duty everywhere.

The Karen eat anything from an insect to an elephant. They are very fond of curry called *takapaw*, a mixture of rice gruel, meat, vegetable and spices. There are few people in the East who drink like the Karen; the Karen spirit is a liquid fire.

The Karen Drum is valued very highly. It is made and sold to the Karen by other peoples, but the Karen in Naungpalai and Naungmaikhon also make it. To take away a drum from a Karen amounts to robbing him of all that he has, and he will never forgive it.

SHORTER NOTE

Co-operation with Russian Scientists. Cf. MAN, 1947, 76

163 British anthropologists, who sincerely desire the closest possible collaboration with their Russian colleagues, and hope to see a strong delegation from the U.S.S.R. at next year's meeting in Brussels of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, will have noted with anxiety and regret an apparently authoritative broadcast from Moscow on 29 July by the Soviet Minister of Higher Education, Mr. Kaftanov (quoted by the *Manchester Guardian*, 4 August, 1947), which contained serious criticism of those Russian scientists who have been making western contacts.

The condemnation and the demand for secrecy are in sweeping terms and there is no indication that they are to be understood as referring only to those physical sciences which can be applied to war purposes. While

nationalism and isolationism are to be deplored in any field of science, it is earnestly hoped that an exception is intended for the social and allied sciences, which (apart from the field of 'mass communication') have no importance in foreign affairs. British anthropology has been very ready to give credit to Russian achievement, as for example when, during the late war, the distinguished archaeologists Professors Efimenko and Zamiatnine were elected as Honorary Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute: and there is a widespread desire for more information on all aspects of Russian anthropology, and especially social anthropology, pure or applied, on which information is at present entirely lacking. Any extension of exchange relations between British and Russian scientific periodicals would be warmly welcomed here.

OBITUARY

Richard E. Latham : 1869-1943

164 Richard E. Latham was born in Bristol on 5 March, 1869, and died after an extraordinarily rich life at Santiago on 16 October, 1943.

After attending local schools in his native town he became a student of the Polytechnic Institute in London, and qualified as a civil engineer. Just before the end of his studies in 1888 he met a Chilean, who was in charge of the colonization of the Araucanian territory, and who gave him a contract as a surveyor and road-builder which was a turning-point in his life. In the same year he reached the 'frontier' south of Concepción. He spoke neither Spanish nor Araucanian. He stayed for five years with the Araucanians, preparing the territory for the establishment of colonists, and was able to learn their language and to collect the material for one of his most important works, *La organización social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Araucanos*, published in 1924. Later he settled at La Serena, where he taught in a *liceo* and at the same time carried out excavations in the nearby Indian cemeteries; as a mining engineer he was also able to visit the whole region and acquire a thorough knowledge of its antiquities. By 1910 he was

universally known as an archaeologist and ethnologist. During this period he married a Chilean lady.

Latham could not yet dedicate all his energies to the exploration of the Chilean past: until 1928 he had to earn his living by his non-scientific activities, but whatever money he could spare went into his studies and excavations. In 1928 he became Director of the National Museum of Natural History and in 1929 Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the Universidad de Chile. He could now concentrate on the study of the past of the country which he had adopted (though he always retained his British nationality). His first great work on the Araucanians had already appeared in 1924; now his other important publications began to follow: *La Prehistoria Chilena*, *La Alfarería Indígena Chilena* and *Los Incas, sus orígenes y sus ayllus*, in 1928; *Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos peruanos*, in 1929; *La agricultura pre-colombiana en Chile y los países vecinos*, in 1936; *Arqueología de la región Atacameña*, in 1938. In addition, more than two hundred papers bear his name.

To Latham's work Chilean prehistory owes most of what it possesses. For fifty-five years he dedicated his efforts to Chilean ethnographic and archaeological

research. He knew the Araucanians better than anyone. He discovered and named the Chilean Diaguita complex. He destroyed the myth that the Chilean pre-Spanish population was a unity and homogeneous from the river Choapa to the south. His studies in the extreme north were partly based on the previous work of Uhle, but the majority of his conclusions and ideas in this field, too, are his own. From the beginning his approach was critical and scientific; this attitude was one of his greatest contributions to South American anthropological science. Though very interested in Indian pottery and other crafts, he was always aware that synthetic reconstruction of the socio-economic life of an ethnos was one of the real aims of archaeology.

For his work on the Incas he was awarded the title of *doctor honoris causa* by the University of San Marcos in Lima. On the 50th anniversary, in 1938, of his arrival in Chile, the Faculty of Philosophy of the Universidad de Chile made him an academic and honorific member; in 1939 the Government of Chile conferred on him the *Orden del Merito*; and the University of La Plata in Argentine also conferred an honorary doctorate upon him.

It is not enough to enumerate Latcham's scientific achievements. All of us who had the privilege of knowing

him personally mourn the passing of a good man and of our best friend. His goodness, experience and age, together with a brilliant intellect, made him a character one will never forget.

GRETE MOSTNY

NOTE.—The manuscript of the above obituary was accompanied by a bibliography substantially agreeing with that compiled by Dr. S. K. Lothrop (*Am. Anthr.*, Vol. 47, No. 4, 1945, pp. 603-8, but containing the additional titles listed below.—Ed.)

1923. *La Existencia de la Propiedad en el antiguo Imperio de los Incas*, Santiago.
 1925. 'Origin of Civilization on this Continent,' *South Pacific Mail*, 26 Feb.
 1929. 'Los indios antiguos de Copiapó y Coquimbo,' *Revista Universitaria*, Dec.
 1929, 1930, 1931, 1937. 'Memoria del Director del Museo Nacional de Historia Natural.'
 1932. 'La colonización de nuestros campos,' *Revista Universitaria*, No. 83.
 1938. 'Las ciencias antropologicas en Chile,' *Zeits. Rassenk.*, Bd. VII, Heft II.
 1940. 'Observaciones acerca de la Cultura de El Molle,' *Boletín de Museo Nacional de Historia Natural*, XVIII.
 1942. 'Antropogeografía prehistorica del Norte de Chile,' *Boletín de Museo Nacional de Historia Natural*, XX.
 1943. 'El arte popular y sus relaciones con el arte indigena,' in *Catálogo de la Exposición de Artes Populares Americanas*.

REVIEWS

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ALLIED SUBJECTS

Les Hommes Fossiles. By M. Boule. 3rd ed. By H. V. Vallois. Paris (Masson), 1946. Pp. xii, 587, with 294 figs.

This famous book has been revised with reverent care by Professor Vallois, pupil and successor of Boule. Boule did a good deal of the revision of the general chapters and the account of men of the Old Stone Age, but Vallois has added facts about some of the more recent discoveries and about fossil men from outside Europe. Boule and Vallois remain in doubt about the relationship of jaw to skull in the Piltdown finds and it seems to have surprised Boule that a brain case near that of *h. sapiens* should be found in so early a deposit; he apparently thought of *h. sapiens* as a later evolution than *h. neanderthalensis*. The general question of the relationship of *h. neanderthalensis* and *h. sapiens* is hardly adequately treated, probably because the relevant specimens from Palestine were fully discussed only in 1939; page 398 may be considered in some ways a revision of pp. 275f. in the light of the work of Keith and McCown. Boule was mainly interested in the anatomical evolution of *h. sapiens* rather than in the varieties of the latter, and Vallois has characteristically respected this attitude of the original author. This unfortunately leads to the view that the differences between, say, Cro-Magnon and Combe Capelle skulls are not of much account and thence confuses matters of interest in connexion with modern men. But this is incidental, for the main purpose of the book is to give a reasonable account of the specimens of fossil man, and it is the best compendium of this knowledge.

H. J. FLEURE

The Loom of Prehistory. By A. J. H. Goodwin. *South African Archaeological Society, Cape Town*, 1946. Pp. 151. Price 12s. 6d., paper, 15s. cloth.

This handbook, the second of a series dealing with various aspects of South African prehistory, is presented as a commentary and a select bibliography of the subject generally. As the author points out in his preface, this is the first time a regional approach on such a scale has been attempted, and he expresses the hope that future writers and excavators will think in terms of the surrounding areas and environments rather than in terms of an over-generalized view of the sub-continent as a whole. It follows appropriately after Mr.

Goodwin's *Commentary on the History and Present Position of South African Prehistory* (1935), and may be regarded as complementary to it. It opens with a historical introduction; then follows a regional commentary which occupies the bulk of the book; and lastly a chapter on general works followed by a carefully compiled bibliography which very fairly covers the field.

The area dealt with covers the whole of South Africa, including Northern and Southern Rhodesia, with the exception of the western region north of the Orange River, of which so little is yet known. Adequate mention is made of the work done by the considerable number of investigators who have contributed to the sum total of knowledge of the subject. The title of the book well illustrates the method of approach, which is to weave into a patterned fabric the data obtained over the entire area, and it will be generally agreed that the result is entirely satisfactory. South African prehistory has needed an historian, and in Mr. Goodwin it has found one whose wide knowledge and comprehensive outlook eminently fit him for this role. He has been for many years in the closest touch with his subject and he took a formative part in the establishment of the cultural sequence. No one was therefore better fitted for this task and no one could have accomplished it more successfully.

While all professional workers will find it of great value as a handy work of reference, it is one which no amateur—and there are a large number of them in South Africa—can afford to be without.

NEVILLE JONES

Field Archaeology. By R. J. C. Atkinson. London (Methuen), 1946. Pp. 238, 8 plates, 87 figs. Price 12s. 6d.
167 **Notes for the Guidance of Archaeologists in regard to Expert Evidence.** Council for British Archaeology, London, 1947. Price 3d.

Field Archaeology is the first book from the pen of the Assistant Keeper of Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum, and the first detailed text-book on field archaeology to be published in England since Petrie's *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* (1904). The methods and aims of the archaeologist are the discovery of sites and portable antiquities, the excavation of sites and the recording and description of finds made by chance, deliberate field survey and excavation. The methods and

aims of the prehistorian and historian are the *interpretation* of these archaeological facts and associated non-archaeological facts. Mr. Atkinson's main concern here is with the excavation of sites, although he discusses briefly the techniques of discovery and the problems of interpretation. From the title one is perhaps led to expect much about the fascinations and techniques of field work, but the author does not seek to emulate the pens of Williams Freeman, Crawford, Fox and Grinsell: his self-defined task is to describe the technique of excavation.

He discharges this task thoroughly, and efficiently, beginning at the beginning with the excavator obtaining written permission from the owner to excavate (he says nothing of permission from the Office of Works in regard to Scheduled Monuments), and ending with hints on correcting the proofs of the excavation report. There is advice on photography, on drawing pottery, on boring, on cleaning, recording and restoring finds, and discussion of experimental techniques such as dowsing and detecting. A third of the book is devoted to archaeological survey (although there is no mention here of the making of survey plans from air photographs). Throughout the treatment is clear, sound and detailed: the author omits little, from instructions how to hold a trowel to how to letter. His instructions are imperative, his standards high, his counsels perfection—but he aims at training excavators as near perfection as our present techniques allow, and this present publication, like his own excavation reports, lives up to the high standard he advocates.

In a second edition there should be added some notes for the student on the interpretation of vertical air photographs—plotting, scaling, titling strips, the use of the stereoscope, the interpretation of natural and archaeological features. The introduction to maps in the volume under review is most useful to the student. Air photographs, while even more

valuable to the student, still more need simple explanation, and the field archaeologist needs a guide to the uses and limitations of the R.A.F. air photograph library. A second edition might also usefully include notes of the publications of the Office of Works and the Royal Commissions on Ancient Monuments, all invaluable to the field archaeologist.

Excavation, like field work and all forms of field archaeology, can only really be learnt in the field. Mr. Atkinson's manual, as he himself repeatedly stresses, is no substitute for work in the field; but it is an excellent training manual with which the archaeological student can arm himself before entering the field, and from which the general reader can gain an authoritative account of the process of excavation. Perhaps some of the more technical pages may leave the general reader cold, but the whole book can leave him in no doubt that excavation is not child's play with bucket and spade, but exacting, arduous work calling for method, organization and great pains. The conscientious student may well recoil at first from the mass of precepts and warnings given by the author, and may wonder whether he can ever master the many complicated techniques described and survive the many necessary drudgeries catalogued; but as his training proceeds in the field and he eventually undertakes an excavation himself, he will find this book then as invaluable a work of reference to the expert as it was a basic work of training to the novice.

The pamphlet compiled by the Natural Sciences Committee of the Council for British Archaeology summarizes the ways in which geology, petrology, botany, zoology, physical anthropology and metallurgy are of value to archaeologist and prehistorian, giving references to more comprehensive publications, and the addresses of specialists and institutions to whom organic and inorganic remains found during excavations may be sent for expert identification. A clear, practical and most inexpensive pamphlet.

G. E. DANIEL

CORRESPONDENCE

The Senoi of Malaya

168 SIR.—The Senoi of the Malay Peninsula are regarded as being largely of pre-Dravidian (or Australoid) origin by Keane (*Man Past and Present*, p. 425), Haddon (*Races of Man*, pp. 20, 118), Dudley Buxton (*Peoples of Asia*, p. 236) and Skeat and Blagden (*Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*). I believe that the first to describe them thus were P. and F. Sarasin in 1908 (*Ergebnisse Naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon, Die Steinzeit in Ceylon*, which I have not seen).

I hesitate to question such authorities but should like to record my own impressions, as an amateur, during some journeys in the Senoi country. Apart from some slight Negrito traces (to be expected, seeing that they are surrounded by Negrito tribes in a land where there are neither caste prejudices nor blood feuds to preserve racial purity) the inhabitants of a Senoi long house seem to me to resemble the mongoloid hill tribes one meets in the foothills and adjoining plains from northern Bengal, through Assam, to Burma and beyond; that is to say, what I think anthropologists would call Pareoan, southern-mongoloid or perhaps proto-Malay. Moreover, I have never come across a trace of what I should consider pre-Dravidian characters among any "out-of-the-way" tribe in the Malay Peninsula (though such traits are, of course, common among Tamil labourers on rubber estates).

By pre-Dravidian I understand the dark-skinned, wiry, long-headed type with pronounced profile but broad, flat nose, the men with good beards and hairy chests, that one so often comes across in all the drier, less inhabited parts of peninsular India. In India pre-Dravidian type seems generally to be mixed, either by the tribe or in the individual, with the stockier, more rounded and less hairy 'Dravidian' type, though some communities, among rather primitive tribes such as some Gonds and Bhils, seem to me to be mainly of this type and look very like Australian aborigines. (I have unfortunately never seen the Veddas.)

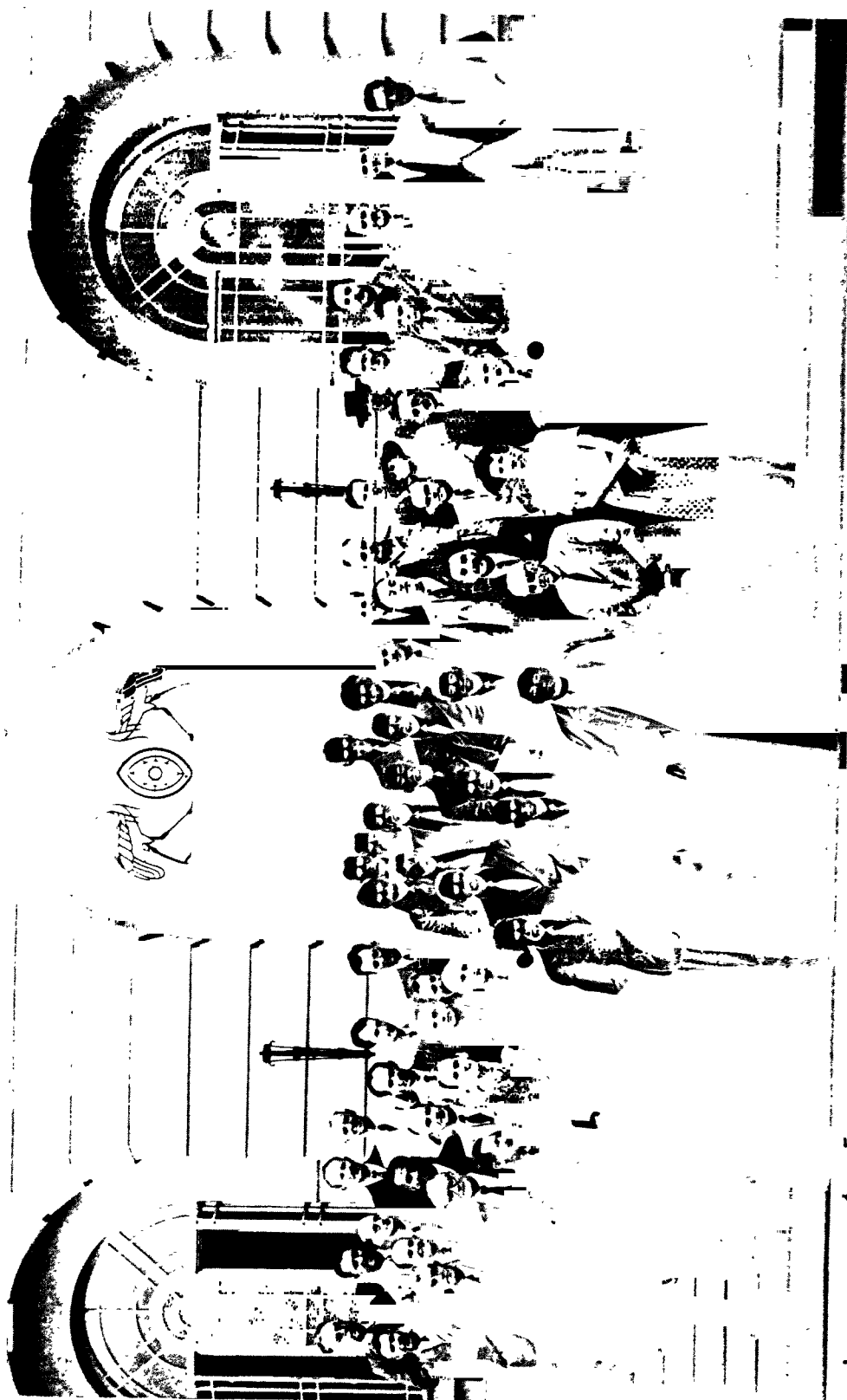
By Senoi I mean the people of the long houses in the forested hill country extending into east-central Perak, but mainly in the south-west corner of Kelantan. Mr. H. D. Noone, in his

monograph on their customs, called them Ple-Temiar, but identified them with the Senoi of other writers or at any rate with an important branch of the people included under that name. I fear there can now be little doubt that Mr. Noone, who knew them intimately and spoke their language, died among the Ple-Temiar during Japanese occupation. He introduced me to them and accompanied me on some of my journeys among them; and when I crossed their country from west to east, his museum assistant, Yeop Ahmad, came with me as interpreter. There can therefore be no doubt that the people I am writing of are Noone's Ple-Temiar and I think his monograph, of which I have no copy with me, will establish their identity with the Senoi of other writers, at least in part.

Separated from these people by over sixty miles of country, some of it under permanent cultivation, is another apparently Pareoan tribe with even less Negrito admixture. These are the people who call themselves Che Wong and live in villages of separate huts on the slopes of Mount Benom in west-central Pahang. They have a language of their own, but are a very small community, possibly only thirty individuals, though they connect themselves with a larger community living about fifteen miles to the north in the hills to the south of Kampong Batu Balai. This second community, however, appears to have mixed with the Malays. I have so far been unable to trace the Che Wong, under that or any other name, in any published literature except for an article, well illustrated by photographs, by Mr. C. S. Ogilvie, which appeared in the *Malayan Nature Journal* about 1940. Unfortunately, all spare copies of this publication, together with most privately owned copies, were probably lost during Japanese occupation. Mr. Ogilvie, who served as a Game Warden with me and was afterwards imprisoned in the same camp, knew the Che Wong well and had collected a small vocabulary of their language; he recently returned to Malaya.

I shall be glad to correspond on these matters with any reader who wishes to pursue them further. The address below will find me.

E. O. SHEBBEARE
Forest Office, Kuala Lumpur, Malaya



PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS ON PREHISTORY, NAIROBI, JANUARY, 1947

The delegates and private members may be identified by reference to Article 170, Note 1. (Photo : Fimam, Nairobi)

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLE

A BOLAS-AND-HOOP GAME IN EAST AFRICA. *By H. S. Harrison, A.R.C.Sc., D.Sc. Illustrated. Cf. MAN, 1947, 170*

169 Specimens in the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, obtained at Kazagga, near Lake Tanganyika, have acquired additional interest through a recent archæological discovery by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey in Kenya. It is suggested that numerous stone balls, found on the surface of the ground, but assigned to Palæolithic times, indicate the use of the hunting bolas¹ in Africa during that period. If this identification is correct, the range of distribution of the weapon, in the past if not in the present, is greatly extended. Its use in either ancient or modern times is not recorded from Africa, and I am not aware that any claim has hitherto been made (nor is one made here) for the discovery of degenerate survivals. However, in 1912, acting on information received with the two crude game pieces that are the main subject of this note, I assigned them to the series of bolas, and gave this obvious name to the appropriate piece, both in the museum case and in the *Handbook to Weapons of War and the Chase* (2nd ed., 1929). The collector of the specimens, Dr. W. A. Cunnington, was a zoologist who some forty years ago was investigating the fauna of Lake Tanganyika, but who also—prompted by the late Dr. A. C. Haddon—collected many interesting ethnographical specimens in that region. As far as collecting goes, it is not certain whether Cunnington could claim priority over the record of the bolas-and-hoop game made in Uganda by A. L. Kitching, a missionary, at about the same period (*On the Backwaters of the Nile*, Fisher Unwin, 1912); the latter may or may not have acquired specimens, but he described them, as well as the game. I am indebted to the Editor of MAN for the reference to Kitching's book, and also for the opportunity of supplementing from it my first scanty information as to the nature of the game.

The essential interest of the Horniman Museum specimens lies, of course, in the fact that one of the pieces is as plainly a bolas as is that of the Eskimo, which it resembles much more closely in the size of its weights, though it has fewer of them and the material is not the same, than it does those of South America.

Kitching describes the game as it was played by boys at Toro, in Uganda, and gives the native name as *namuziga*. Two sides were chosen, and the object was to win over members of the opposing side, one by one, by dint of skill in throwing and aiming the bolas. This consisted simply of about a yard of string to each end of which was attached a small piece of wood or a dry maize cob—two weights only. The hoop was made of flexible creepers or cane twisted and bound together; this was flung by a boy of one side so as to roll along the ground, and as it rolled each boy of the opposing side, in turn, threw his bolas in an attempt to entangle the hoop and stop its progress. When this was achieved the thrower of the hoop passed from his own side to that of the successful thrower of the bolas, and so the game proceeded, each side taking its turn in rolling the hoop.

This account confirms and extends that received with the Horniman Museum specimens. It would appear that the Uganda hoop, judging from a not very satisfactory illustration given by Kitching, was considerably larger than the Museum example. This is oval in form, perhaps by distortion through drying, and has an outer diameter of from 9 to 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Unlike the Uganda specimen, it is made from a single strong twig or shoot, bent round and lashed firmly over the fairly long overlap (fig. 1). The Museum bolas also differs from the one described by Kitching both in the much greater effective length of the strings and in having three weights instead of two. These are short cylindrical pieces of light wood, about 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter: they are tied to the ends of three lengths of thin two-ply string, the other ends of which are joined and knotted together. One of the strings is about 39 inches long, and the other two are each about 30 inches. This difference need not have any functional significance, though it may be that the weight on the

¹ For various reasons the word *bolas*, which is a Spanish plural, is less likely to lead to confusion if, as seems to be usual, it is treated as a singular, without change in the plural. In this paper the word 'weight' will be used where 'ball' is inappropriate. 'Bolas' is therefore the name for the set of balls or weights and their attachments.

longest string was held in the hand whilst the others were whirled in the air for the throw, as is often the method adopted for throwing the South American bolas having three balls—one of these often (always ?) being smaller than the other for convenience of holding.

It is worth noting that the total weight of the games bolas in the Museum is not quite one ounce, as contrasted with the two pounds of a South American three-ball bolas with hide cases for the stones and two-ply thongs of twisted hide.² The African game is evidently not a dangerous one to play or to watch.

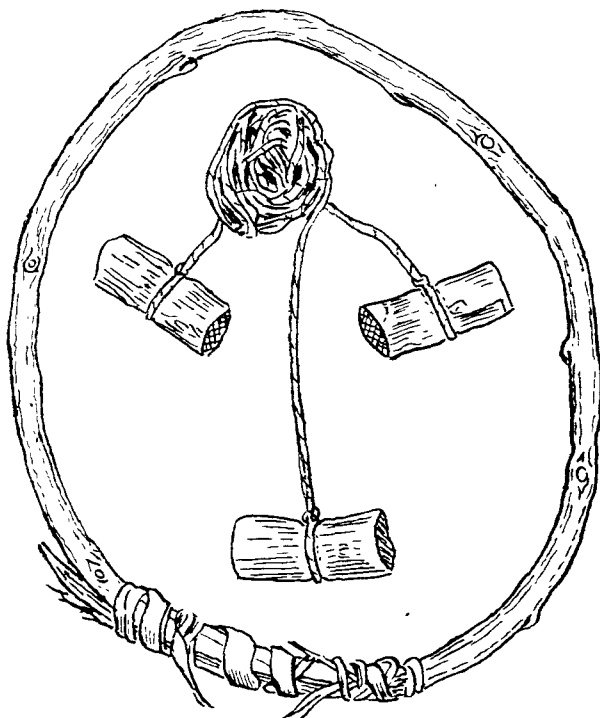


FIG. 1.—BOLAS-AND-HOOP GAME FROM KAZAGGA, NEAR LAKE TANGANYIKA

About $\frac{1}{3}$ natural size: the strings of the bolas are coiled together for economy of space. (Horniman Museum)

Since reference has recently been made, in the press and elsewhere, to the absence of the bolas from Africa, some importance must be attached to definite evidence of its recent occurrence, even in a trivial form. That other records of the bolas-and-hoop game have been made is likely enough, and this note may serve the purpose of drawing attention to them. It is even possible, if improbable, that examples of the bolas, less degenerate in constitution and purpose, may yet be found in that continent from which has emerged in recent times so much that is old.

There are two main questions relating to the

² For the opportunity of re-examining and measuring the specimens, and for other aid, I am indebted to Mr. L. J. P. Gaskin, F.L.A., Secretary and Librarian of the Horniman Museum, of which he was at the time in charge.

African games bolas that can be asked, if not truly answered: (a) Is it an independent invention having no relationship to any pre-existing type of bolas? (b) If it is a degenerate offspring of a hunting bolas, are we justified in postulating continuity in Africa from so remote a period as the Palæolithic Age?

As to the first question, we have to assume that somewhere, at some period, the idea of an entangling weapon was developed, its use being to prevent or arrest the flight of, and at the same time more or less disable, large animals whose capture or death was desired. Obviously the bolas, the only missile weapon—unless the lasso is regarded as such—made with this object in view, is better adapted for use against animals than against man, if only for the reason that the latter could more easily defeat the attack, as, for example, by throwing himself on the ground. The fact that the Indians of South America are reported as having successfully used the bolas against the early Spanish invaders is qualified by the statement that the Spanish horsemen were the worst sufferers, owing to the disablement of their mounts. That the Eskimo, with their peaceful habits, have only a small bolas, used against flocks of birds, is not surprising. We may therefore regard the bolas as essentially a hunting weapon, which is at present confined to South America and the Arctic.

It is perhaps pertinent to the problem of the origin of the bolas that some South American Indians use a heavy stone attached to a short thong for killing a small animal, or for throwing to strike and not to entangle; this was called by the Spaniards the *bola perdida*, because it was very liable to be lost. Besides the three-ball bolas, the Indians have also one with two balls only. These three types suggest a not too improbable way in which the bolas might have been evolved, possibly in more than one region of the world, if we prefer to think so. No such steps toward the evolution of the games bolas offer themselves to us, and it seems not extravagant to suggest that the hoop represents the fleeing animal, whilst the bolas is a direct derivative of the missile weapon. Such a change of function and association can be readily accepted. Having got so far, we may provisionally assume that the hunting bolas was in use in Africa at a period more or less remote; the less probable alternative is that the games bolas arose out of the hunting bolas somewhere else in the Old World and was introduced into Africa. Here we come to the second question, the answer to which would seem to follow, though not quite as a matter of course, on our provisional acceptance of the games bolas as a degenerate survival; but the enormous lapse of time, void of evidence from Africa since the days of Palæolithic man, must give us pause. There are, however, mitigating circumstances.

A brief account—incomplete and open to correction—may be interpolated here of the relevant discoveries in Kenya. At Olorgesailie (in the Great Rift Valley) the stone balls regarded as bolas stones were found on the surface of the ground, as were also large numbers of Acheulian implements which were scattered over a considerable area. On the site there had been an alternation of periods (ten in number) of submergence, during which lake beds were deposited, and periods of emergence of dry land which was occupied by man. The existing exposure of the human artifacts is due to processes of natural erosion, which removed the lake deposits without dispersing the implements. It is suggested that the points at which the stone balls were found indicate the positions of actual living sites on the shores of the lake. If this view is accepted the balls were apparently not lost in hunting, and it may be that they had not yet been assembled in sets when the site was abandoned as the lake began to encroach on the land. A predominance of sets of three found together would, of course, strongly support the bolas attribution. The bolas, like the boomerang, is ill adapted for use in densely wooded areas. Under the more favourable conditions provided by open country in parts of South America, it has been a favoured weapon of hunting peoples. Opportunities for the loss of such a weapon, used often and by many, are clearly numerous, and since the missing bolas would tend to lie with its balls close together, at least until the cords or thongs had decayed, a persistence of open country in the region would foster the prolonged association of the stone components on or near the surface of the ground, as is reported by interpretation from the Kenya site. On the other hand, a drastic change such as an invasion by forest or swamp would render it likely that present-day natives or archaeologists would discover, if anything at all, only single stones giving no clue to their identity. The bolas

might conceivably, therefore, have had a wide distribution in Africa, at more than one period, without leaving any identifiable traces except under favourable conditions such as those of the Kenya site, which, however, must apparently be regarded as a special case of the recurrence of open country between intervals of submergence over a long period of time. The immense gap in time still remains an obstacle to a comfortable conviction of bolas continuity. It would lessen our unease in some small degree if the presumed African bolas stones could be placed later in time, if only in the Late Palaeolithic, when there were hunters whose aptitudes as makers of tools and weapons were becoming conspicuous. To the writer, the bolas seems a rather advanced type of implement for the men of the earlier Palaeolithic. However, as matters stand, since there is a probability of the origin by degeneration of the African games bolas, the speculation that there may have been continuity even as long as from Palaeolithic times onwards can at the worst put some strain on our credulity. In any case, our theories and hypotheses concerning the evolution of both animals and artifacts are subject to Factors of Uncertainty as disconcerting as the Principle of Uncertainty, which has in recent years converted eminent physicists to Indeterminism. Whether some of the Factors, the psychological, arise out of the Principle is an open if not an unanswerable question.

It may not be out of place to mention here, without prejudice, that the Japanese, in their palmy days of swordsmanship, had a defensive weapon consisting of a short metal chain with a small weight at each end, used for entangling an adversary's sword. This is perhaps as far away from the bolas as one can get without losing sight of it altogether, and any suggestion of genetic affinity would be highly speculative, if not ingenuous; but confirmed diffusionists are of necessity speculative, often ingenious, and, not infrequently, ingenuous.

SHORTER NOTE

The Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, 1947: A General Report. By Bernard Fagg, *Delegate of the Nigerian Government and Joint Delegate of the Royal Anthropological Institute.* With Plate I.

Fifty-four prehistorians, geologists and palaeontologists, delegates of twenty-six countries, with seven private members, met in Nairobi for the first Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, 12–30 January, 1947.¹ The Congress, ably organized by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey and supported by the Government of Kenya, was intended to settle a number of controversial issues which had been hampering African prehistoric research. The large attendance of geologists, who numbered twenty-three, including ten directors of their respective surveys, is evidence of the unusual geological importance in Africa of the study of Quaternary and Recent sedimentary deposits and earth movements.

After the adoption of a permanent constitution (*cf.*

MAN, 1947, 87) and the election of the Abbé Breuil as first President and of Dr. Robert Broom, F.R.S., as Vice-President, three Sections were set up:

I. Geology, General Palaeontology and Climatology (Chairman, Professor du Toit, F.R.S.; Vice-Chairmen, Dr. Nilsson and Professor Arambourg).

II. Human Palaeontology (Chairman, Professor Dart; Vice-Chairmen, Professors le Gros Clark, F.R.S., and Drennan).

III. Prehistoric Archaeology (Chairman, Dr. Leakey; Vice-Chairmen, Professors van Riet Lowe and Mustafa Amer Bey).

Papers and Discussions

The very full programme included six general discussions on the more controversial problems, besides sixty-three papers, many of them accounts of war-time

research. There was at first much fundamental disagreement on interpretation and nomenclature, perhaps aggravated latterly by lack of contacts or facilities for publication, but almost unanimous agreement had been reached on all of them by the concluding session. This could never have been accomplished without the generous spirit of compromise that grew up during the Congress, when such authorities as Breuil, le Gros Clark, Leakey, van Riet Lowe and Cabu agreed to abandon or revise certain concepts which they had upheld in the past.

The symposia on 'Fossil Apes in Africa' and on 'Fossil Man in Africa' have already been reported to MAN by Professor le Gros Clark (1947, 106), and there was a third important symposium on 'Pleistocene Marine Terraces in Relation to the Stone Age.' Work already carried out on the raised beaches of North-West Africa, the North African littoral and South Africa has yielded positive, if still inconclusive, results. Professor Zeuner described war-time researches in the North-East African region yielding valuable correlations with the



FIG. 1.—GAMBILIAN SEDIMENTS EXPOSED BY EROSION AT ENDERIT DRIFT

European mainland, and indicated that the results accord well with the astronomical hypothesis of geochronology. It is hoped that research will be carried out in all the coastal regions of Africa, as the marine terraces offer great promise for the solution of problems of Pleistocene chronology in Africa. Following a series of papers on geological, climatological and palaeontological evidence from all parts of Africa and their relation to Europe and Asia, a general discussion was held on the Pleistocene in Africa, the dating of deposits and the acceptance of a unified terminology for Pluvial deposits throughout Africa. Much evidence of modern climatic conditions and meteorological phenomena was brought forward to assist in the interpretation of fossil evidence, on the principle that it is safer to work backwards from present-day climatology and the more recent wet phases. The East African evidence of climatic cycles and faunas was provisionally adopted as a framework for all Africa except the North African littoral. It was resolved to recognize the five main East African stratigraphical units (Kageran, Kamasian, Gamblian, Makalian and Nakuran) as a basis for other areas in Africa.

Certain publications before the Congress (including letters in MAN, 1947, 15 and 40) had left no doubt that controversy would centre mainly on the terminology

used by African prehistorians in various parts of the continent. In Professor van Riet Lowe's paper on the development of the Hand-axe Culture in South Africa, he expressed the willingness of the South African delegation to abandon the use of the term 'Stellenbosch,' which had been adopted some twenty years ago, if agreement could be reached by the Congress on a term for the whole of Africa to cover the period from what used to be termed the lower Chellian to the upper Acheulian. For in South Africa, as in East Africa, it is virtually impossible to discern a dividing line between these cultural phases. There was, in the South African sequence, a gradual development of the processes and refinements of technique in the manufacture of hand-axes.

The open discussion and later the committee's debates produced a variety of suggestions which all received their share of criticism. 'Acheulian' as a term for the entire sequence had to be dropped because of the ambiguity that would arise in comparison with other regions. 'Abbevillio-Acheulian' was rejected mainly on the ground of cacophony. 'Great Hand-axe Culture' was actually adopted by a majority vote of the committee before it was realized to be illogical and unpractical. The terms 'Chelles-Acheul' and 'Pre-Chelles-Acheul' to cover the Hand-axe Culture and its antecedents, with appropriate use of sub-divisions and regional qualifications, were finally adopted, after the French delegation had withdrawn their objections to the use of 'Chelles' to describe the phase now known in France as Abbevillian. Derivatives of the Hand-axe Culture like the Fauresmith and Sangoan are not affected.²

A number of the delegates felt strongly that the terms 'Clacton technique' and 'Levallois technique' should be abandoned by African prehistorians as confusing, and 'block-on-block technique' and 'faceted-platform technique' were finally adopted as more logical and descriptive.

Much discussion was required before the Tumbian controversy was settled, as detailed in MAN, 1947, 87, by the substitution of 'Sangoan.' As to the Upper Palaeolithic, it was generally felt that local names are more likely to be needed, owing to the progressive divergence of cultural traits. 'Kenya Aurignacian' was considered no longer appropriate, and Lowe strongly urged the invention of a new term for it. But Ruhlmann's evidence of the nature and distribution of the Capsian culture convinced most delegates that Leakey's 'Kenya Aurignacian' material was similar enough for connexion to be postulated, in spite of lack of evidence of diffusion in the great intervening regions, and 'Kenya Capsian' was eventually adopted, Lowe and Huzayyin dissenting. The permanent consultative committee on African prehistoric nomenclature, to which all workers in this field are invited to submit, before publication, any proposed innovations, should prove a useful instrument for the future.

The Excursions

Four excursions were arranged during the Congress. The first, lasting two days, gave delegates the chance to see at first hand the very fine exposures of lake deposits in the Great Rift Valley, on which the coming discussions on Pleistocene stratigraphy were to be so dependent. At Kariandusi a 'Museum on the spot' has been established to show finely made hand-axes lying *in situ* on gravel beds which were evidently laid down by a seasonal torrent at the edge of the old Kamasian lake. Late Kamasian marsh deposits containing Fauresmith and

'pseudo-Stillbay' implements were seen at Cartwright's Site. At Enderit Drift (see fig. 1), where the deposits of three phases of the Gamblian Pluvial and the Makalian wet phase are exposed, at Gamble's Cave and Little Gilgil River, delegates could make a critical examination of evidence for these pluvial periods.

A second excursion was made to visit obsidian mines high up on the cliffs of Njorowa Gorge, through which Lake Naivasha drained in Gamblian times; these mines were used at various periods during the Upper Palaeolithic and later.

The third excursion was to Ol Orgesaile, where important discoveries of living sites of Acheulian man have been made, and where about 20 acres are being converted into a vast open-air museum. For many miles round Mount Ol Orgesaile Kamasian deposits have been exposed by erosion and have yielded Acheulian artifacts in great abundance. In one place, where the profusion of exposed implements was most spectacular, considerable excavations have been undertaken, and a very detailed survey made of the associated deposits, which proved to have been heavily faulted (see fig. 2). In the enclosed area it has been possible to establish a succession of no less than ten land surfaces, exposed by careful excavation. Separating the land surfaces are lacustrine deposits which vary considerably in significance, some representing very long periods of time. A number of the excavated layers are undoubtedly living sites containing the remains of hunted animals and implements of the chase. In addition to hand-axes and cleavers, a remarkable feature of the Ol Orgesaile living sites is the presence of a dozen or more groups of three more or less spherical stones about the size of cricket balls (besides many others found singly). This is good evidence for the hypothesis that these objects were used as bolas stones, as in South America, for the hunting of game. Leakey has himself experimented with attaching and using them and is satisfied that they are an effective weapon.⁴ The further extensive excavations now contemplated will undoubtedly bring forth much new evidence on the environment and equipment of Acheulian man, if not his skeletal remains.

The final excursion lasted for seven days and covered about 900 miles of impressive country in Kenya and Tanganyika. Its main objectives were the famous Olduvai Gorge and the group of painted rock shelters near Kisese. The classic stratigraphy of Olduvai again demonstrated how widespread and conclusive is the evidence for extensive pluvial cycles during the Pleistocene in East Africa. The Gorge, a gigantic erosion gully some 35 miles long, has yielded an incomparable succession of Stone Age cultures, and fossil mammalian remains in abundance. From the camp at Kisese a number of rock shelters with paintings were visited, in which a long succession of different styles is distinguishable, some very early indeed. The Abbé Breuil even considered the earliest of these paintings as a possible link between the South African rock paintings and those of Europe.

Results of the Congress

At the final session a number of resolutions were passed unanimously, including three calling upon all African Governments to encourage the study of prehistory and allied sciences and to protect valuable sites, and ten addressed to particular Governments. Others recommended the adoption of standard terms based on the East African nomenclature for the climatic phases as determined by stratigraphy; the encouragement by

Governments of the anatomical study of modern African peoples and of the early publication of reports on all human palaeontological material that may be discovered; and action as already referred to on the terminology of African prehistory.

The continuity of the Congress has been assured by South Africa's invitation to hold the second meeting there in 1951, which was gratefully accepted.⁵ We may hope that a meeting of the International Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-historic Sciences may before then have provided an occasion for a thorough comparing of notes between the prehistorians of Africa and of Europe and the rest of the world. In the meantime it may be justly said that the inaugural meeting of the Pan-African Congress achieved its main objectives and was an outstanding success.⁶

Notes

¹ The names of those present in the group photograph reproduced in Plate L may be identified by reference to the numbers printed at its foot. The corresponding names, with

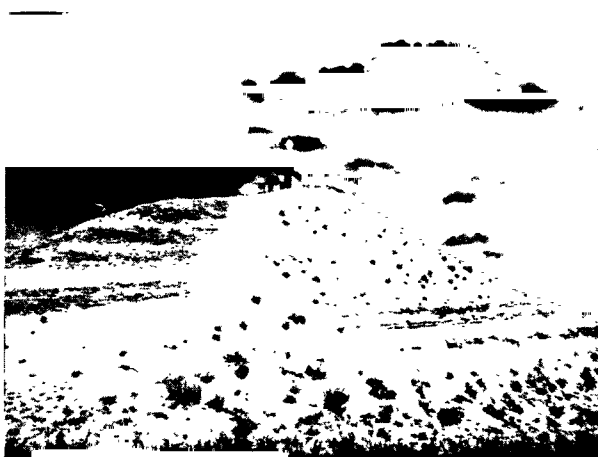


FIG. 2.—OL ORGESAILE DEPOSITS OF KAMASIAN AGE, SHOWING A TYPICAL FAULT (LEFT CENTRE)

the countries represented, are as follows ('p.m.' = private member):

1. Prof. W. E. le Gros Clark (G.B.); 2. Prof. A. J. D. Meiring (S.A.); 3. Dr. L. H. Wells (S.A.); 4. Prof. F. E. Zeuner (G.B.); 5. Prof. M. R. Drennan (S.A.); 6. Dr. K. P. Oakley (G.B.); 7. W. Phillips (U.S.A.); 8. G. Bond (S.Rh.); 9. Rev. N. Jones (S.Rh.); 10. Prof. T. Monod (Fr.W.A.); 11. Dr. D. G. MacInnes (K., p.m.); 12. J. Janmart (P.W.A.); 13. J. Waechter (Palestine); 14. Dr. E. Ganz (K., p.m.); 15. R. Mauny (Fr.W.A.); 16. Brig. J. R. Jamieson (K., p.m.); 17. J. D. Clark (N.Rh.); 18. Mrs. E. Burney (A.E.S., p.m.); 19. G. Andrew (A.E.S.); 20. A. J. Arkell (A.E.S.); 21. Dr. D. R. Grantham (T.T.); 22. B. E. B. Fagg (Nig.); 23. Prof. L. C. King (S.A.); 24. A. Huddleston (K.); 25. Dr. H. B. S. Cooke (S.A.); 26. Dr. P. Deraniyagala (Ceylon); 27. Dr. A. Ruhlmann (Fr. Morocco); 28. Dr. M. Degerbol (Denmark); 29. Mrs. E. Goodall (S.Rh.); 30. Dr. A. Almro do Vale (P.E.A.); 31. F. Mouta (P.W.A.); 32. L. Barradas (P.E.A.); 33. M. Bettencourt Dias (P.E.A.); 34. A. J. H. Goodwin (S.A.); 35. B. D. Malan (S.A.); 36. Miss R. Moss (G.B.); 37. Dr. A. Galloway (Ug.); 38. E. G. P. Sherwood (Ug.); 39. Dr. S. H. Haughton (S.A.); 40. E. J. Wayland (Bech.); 41. Dr. E. Nilsson (Sweden); 42. Prof. C. Arambourg (Fr.); 43. Dr. F. Corin (B. Congo); 44. Dr. F. Cabu (B. Congo); 45. Prof. S. A. Huzayyin (Eg.); 46. Prof. Mustafa Amer Bey (Eg.); 47. Mrs. M. D. Leakey (K.); 48. Dr. L. S. B. Leakey (K.); 49. Prof. C. van Riet

Lowe (S.A.); 50, Prof. R. A. Dart (S.A.); 51, Prof. A. L. du Toit (S.A.); 52, Abbé H. Breuil (Fr.); 53, Dr. R. Broom (S.A.)

The following delegates and members were not present when the photograph was taken:

W. B. Akalou (Eth.); Miss D. M. A. Bate (G.B.); Mrs. S. Cole (K., p.m.); Dr. K. A. Davies (Ug.); Mrs. K. M. Grantham (T.T.); Miss J. Harries (K., p.m.); Dr. G. Hoffmann (Poland); Mrs. B. S. M. Host (N.Z.); J. C. Pauvert (Eth.); Prof. L. Pericot (Spain); J. Scott (K., p.m.)

² The interpretation of this decision seems likely to be somewhat elastic, for in regions where the transition in technique is more or less clearly discernible, the use of the industrial terms 'Chellian' and 'Acheulian' and their sub-divisions would seem desirable; in others where it is not, 'Chelles-Acheul' as an industrial term with sub-divisions to cover the entire sequence from the early Chellian to the late Acheulian would seem to solve this difficulty, though there are other obvious objections to its use.—B. E. B. F.

These matters will no doubt receive further discussion, in their world setting, at the next meeting (perhaps in 1950) of the International Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-historic Sciences. The proposed new terms seem less than euphonious and lack any obvious adjectival form; and if agreement is as

wide as appears likely in Europe and Africa on the Abbevillian (or Chellian) ancestry of the Acheulian, it may be wondered whether sufficient consideration has been given to the term 'Proto-Acheulian' to denote the early phase, wherever it occurs.—Ed.

³ The practice of using the prefix 'pseudo-' to connote a deceptive similarity with another culture may be commended to the attention of the newly constituted committee on terminology. Would not 'quasi-', which carries no imputation against the genuineness of the objects described, be more suitable?—Ed.

⁴ See Dr. Harrison's notes on the subject in this issue (MAN, 1947, 169).

⁵ It is much to be hoped that the second meeting will be even more representative than the first, well attended as it was, and in particular that the time of year will not again combine with lack of funds to make a large British delegation impracticable.

⁶ A full *Compte Rendu* is to be published, and in the meantime a short record has appeared embodying the Constitution and Rules, the Resolutions and the list of delegates and members (in which, by an oversight, the Royal Anthropological Institute has not been recorded as having been represented at the Congress, as it was, by Professor Zeuner and Mr. Bernard Fagg).—Ed.

REVIEWS

AMERICA

Le Métis Canadien: son rôle dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest. By Marcel Giraud. Université de Paris, Institut d'Ethnologie, 1945. Pp. lvi, 1296. Pl. 8, 6 figs., 3 maps. Price Fr. 1200

The author devoted ten years of meticulous research, in the archives in Ottawa, in London and at the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company, to producing this monumental work on a subject of Canadian history. Both in the text and in thousands of footnotes the documentation is very ample. Since its publication the author has been elected Professor at the Collège de France.

The first two parts (680 pp.) of the book do not touch upon the *métis*, but create the physical and human background for the stage upon which he brings the *métis* in Part III, up to the end of Part VI. The central scene shown by the author is the Western, or Prairie, provinces of Canada. Map I shows the prairie's then very limited extent: it was, in effect, confined to the Canadian watersheds of the upper Missouri, and of the South Saskatchewan, the Assiniboine and the Red Rivers, which discharge into Lake Winnipeg. There is also a map which geographically divides the aborigines into twelve distinct linguistic families, and another shows the ways and stages of the British part of the penetration since 1690. A main factor of the penetration was, after the Royal Charter of 2 May, 1670, the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay.

In contrast with the colonization of Australasia via Botany Bay, or the methods of the press gang employed elsewhere, the author might in passing have drawn attention also to the Charter as the virtual foundation instrument of a British Canada. The Charter is equally remarkable for the categorical terms and wisdom with which it fixes the character of the recruiting of free men for this penetration of Canada, and for Charles II's liberal conception of its future governance, by the standards of the time. '... AND FURTHER,' runs the Writ of Privy Seale, 'of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge and meere moccion, WEE DOE for us, our heires and successors, grant to . . . transport and carry over such number of Men being willing thereunto . . . and to governe them in such legall and reasonable manner.' This set the political tone of the 'Orkneyemen' and Englishmen in Canada from the outset. The author, in fairness, emphasizes that the Company occupied the part of 'the North-West' which was the sterile littoral of the Bay, frozen for three-quarters of the year, far from the country's natural lines of communication

and penetration, which were the open and navigable rivers. Such factors as the restricted aim (limited mainly to the fur trade), the isolation of the factories and forts, the far distances of the posts from each other and the fewness of the personnel (in 1686 only ninety men) all combined to retard penetration.

The author's initial comment on the 'empire' of Hudson's Bay includes the observation that even the initiative of its enterprise was somewhat foreign in that it was Radisson and des Groseillers (whose adventurous operations extended beyond Lake Tracy, called the 'upper' or Superior, the dominion of New France) who suggested to the King of England the dual aim, trade and the Pacific passage, which decided the creation of the Company. A century of uncertainty and stagnation (1668-1774) passed before the Company succeeded in establishing economic protection over the territories where the Canadians from New France had preceded them. Nor did the 'Orkneyemen' and English managers of the posts conceal the comparative values of the human factor concerned in the competition, with special reference to the *métis*. J. Butler, of the Company, writing on 23 January, 1687, observes: 'For a friend, I can tell you that one hundred French, who live there, can do more in the woods than five hundred that the English can send out of England.' And the Company, writing to Mr. Sinclair on 17 June, 1693, remarks: 'You take notice of the industry and diligence of the French in all their undertakings and, if they be let alone there in peace, they would soon eat us out of the trade of the whole Bay.'

In the seventeen-fifties, the author on the one hand comments on the inoffensive character of the Anglo-Saxon penetration, which largely explains the cordial relations between the two sets of traders, and on the other observes that the good relations were made possible also by the indifference of many Canadians (and the only people who then called themselves Canadians were those of French origin who already called Canada their home) to issues in Europe which had already put England and France into a state of war. If the present is mainly the past flowing into the future, here may be some past seeds of present growths in Canada.

Here and there in this lengthy record, are items which touch a chord which seems modern and familiar: 'The lamentable state of the whole continent of Europe is such that not the most trifling articles of trade or manufacture of Great Britain can be exported, and we must be confined to the consumption of this country for the sale of the produce of the Bay' (York Factory correspondence, 1808). Again, in the reports from

an undeveloped zone of Canada, corresponding climatically to that of the Russian homeland, we learn of a political conclusion: 'La longueur de l'hiver, pendant tout lequel ce peuple ne fait rien que se chauffer, vivant dans une extrême oisiveté . . . demande un peu de sévérité' (report from La Nouvelle France to France, Denonville, 8 May, 1686). Is this an example of an effect of climate on human conduct and on methods of government?

Professor Giraud's research throws new light, or rather side-lights, on several aspects of the exasperated *métis* movement of Louis Riel, whose rupture with the Church was followed by his assumption of a spiritual authority over his followers. There are interesting references to the role of Father Végreville in relation to Riel. So ethnically catholic is the Canada of today that the constituency which bears the good French name of Végreville is now well represented by a British-born Ukrainian (Anthony Hlynka).

In the matter of the physical results of the European-Red Indian cross (where the author appears to ignore the work of Ruggles Gates), the resident James Isham's shrewd *Observations on Hudson's Bay* (1743) testify that: 'Especially those Indians that have had copulation with the English have brought forth into the world as fine children as one could desire to behold,—straight-limbed, lively, active, and indeed far exceed the true-born Indians in all things.' This testimony is confirmed by Andrew Graham's *Observations* (1771): 'Straight-limbed, light curly hair, fine blue eyes, and light comely eye-brows. In the whole, they are handsome, and some of them beauties. They exceed the true-born Indians in activeness.'

There is due emphasis on, and explanation of, the role of the herds of bison in the economy of the indigenous and *métis* population of Canada. As the mainstay and objective (though not the incentive) of nomadism disappeared, nomadism receded as a way of life. Another form of the process is seen in Arabic Asia, where nomadism, based on camel-breeding, recedes as the great seasonal camel caravans (such as the 2000-camel convoys between Damascus and Baghdad) are replaced by desert motor transport, and camels for mass transport are no longer in demand. Professor Giraud gives substantial space to the story of Canadian nomadism of the *métis*. In the period 1822-1860, in the prairie provinces of Canada, the numbers of the migrant bison were such that Governor Simpson wrote, on 8 December, 1857, to the Hudson's Bay Committee: 'We came in sight of the Saskatchewan . . . This is the heart of the buffalo country . . . The whole country, as far as the eye could reach, was covered with buffalo, in bands varying from hundreds to thousands. The grass was eaten to the earth.' W. H. Clandennin in *Across the Plains*, in 1863-1865, describes how, on the Canadian Missouri, 'the buffalo and wolves cover the plains. I think we have seen 15,000 this day.' The incentive for the hunting of the bison by the mid-West Amerindians and *métis* was that their economy became exclusively based on bison. Latterly, there was the added incentive of the unrestrained craving for alcohol sold by Europeans for the raw pelts and the sewn robes. There was also the boundless desire for the 'feasts of meat,' and the need for meat to be dried for winter provisions. So dependent had they become upon meat as diet that when the herds failed to appear they sometimes turned to cannibalism. The accelerated destruction of the herds was due to the increased demands by the increasing numbers of Canadians, British Isles traders and Americans. There was the factor of the increased mobility of the nomadic hunters, and the extending field of action, as they acquired fire-arms from the Company and horses in addition to transport dogs. The horse was apparently introduced among the Amerindians of Canada about the middle of the eighteenth century. So rapid became the interplay of cause and effect, under the impact of the increased incentive, that already in 1884 'there is no longer a shadow of a bison in the Prairie.' The nomad Indian population died down and the semi-nomad 'nation' of the *métis* 's'acheminèrent rapidement vers l'état de misère et de désarroi moral que l'on observe aujourd'hui parmi leurs descendants.' Within the compass of this work may be traced the natural flourishing and the artificial extinction of a breed of ungulate quadrupeds, and the concurrent rise and fall of a breed of men who, largely lacking those central factors of

civilization, foresight and self-control, attached their economy exclusively to these animals as their main means of survival.

TRACY PHILIPPS

Jonathan Draws the Long Bow. By Richard M. Dorson. Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard Univ. Press) and London (Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1946. Pp. viii, 274. U.K. Price 25s. 6d.

These New England stories differ somewhat from those of old England but show little originality. Many of them deal with the supernatural: witches, both male and female, behave generally as in England, but are more given to turning their victims into horses and riding them through the night. A tale told with many variations is that of the hidden treasure, which is found, but vanishes when one of the finders speaks. The Indian tales are all tragic and usually involve the death of a girl and two men who were rivals for her affections. The stories are drawn mostly from the files of local newspapers.

RAGLAN

Trinidad Village. By Melville J. and Frances S. Herskovits. New York (Knopf), 1946. Pp. 348. Price \$4.75

The enforced migration of many millions of Negro people to the New World represents more than a national dispersion. It has brought about a new area of cultural integration with sociological problems of its own. This latest book by Professor and Mrs. Herskovits provides some valuable hypotheses concerning the forces and factors at work in the process and describes a part of the Caribbean to which little or no attention has hitherto been paid by social anthropologists.

The authors chose as their subject of study Toco, a village settlement at the extreme north-eastern part of the island of Trinidad. The population of the village is almost entirely Negro. Documentation regarding the provenance of the Trinidad Negro is scanty, but the likelihood is that he is, in most cases, only secondarily of African derivation. Most of the Negro population came, apparently, from other West Indian islands and, in smaller numbers, from the nearby South American mainland and the United States. In any case, the question of African affiliation holds but little interest for the average Negro in Trinidad today: his attitude towards things African is one of indifference. These two facts make the many 'Africanisms' which the authors found retained in Tocoan culture the more remarkable. They are far too numerous to be mentioned here *in extenso*, but various ritual practices quoted in connexion with farming undoubtedly bear a striking resemblance to agricultural rites in many parts of West Africa, some of them indeed not mentioned by the authors. For instance, there are offerings to 'spirits' before felling and clearing the bush; there is the conception of a specific supernatural being which inhabits the forest and which corresponds to the *ndogbajusui* or 'bush devil' of the Mende, and to other 'little people,' such as the *ijimere* of the Yoruba, the *mmoatia* of the Ashanti and the *azizan* of Dahomey. Toco young men also have a 'working bee' in connexion with farm work which is similar in most respects to the *dokpwe* of the Dahomeans, and to the *bembe* and analogous institutions in Sierra Leone.

The account of marriage in Toco is particularly interesting, and recalls arrangements in quite another quarter of the Negro 'diaspora'—among a community of Negro seamen in Cardiff, Wales. There are two forms of marriage: one legally and religiously sanctioned; the other, equally institutionalized and recognized in law if not by the churches, called 'keeping' or 'living.' 'Keeping' is comparable in many ways to legal marriage, though there are distinctions to be drawn which have to do with whether the 'keepers' enter into the relationship with family consent, or as a form of trial marriage without parental approval, or as an expedient of mating when either or both parties are separated from a legally married spouse without divorce. Marriage itself has more social prestige, and in actual practice it most often follows upon a period of varying length during which the couple live as keepers with or without parental consent. Deviant forms of mating, however, such as 'living around' (i.e. when a person has relations additional to those he or she has with a regular partner) and prostitution, are socially frowned upon. In the keeper relationship the man has an equal obligation to

provide for his household; this specifically includes a place to house his keeper, and money and provisions to feed her and their children. The man or woman who has moved from one keeper mating to another is thought of as no different from one who leaves a married spouse to become part of a keeper's union. At the same time, the stability and nature of the keeper mating are both strikingly documented by the case of a man who, having lived as a keeper with a woman long enough to have a daughter now in keeping, was planning to use his savings for simultaneous church marriages for his daughter and for himself and her mother. Whether the relationship is that of marriage or keepers, children are regarded as the normal end of mating. If a union is broken up, children may go with their mother or be cared for by their father's new keeper. If a father dies or goes away, it is customary for the mother to keep her children with her, being aided in this by her own family, and at times by the family of her children's father, until she enters into a new arrangement. When a mother dies, the father keeps the children if he can. Otherwise, he sends them to his family or that of their dead mother, paying for their support until he can take a new mate, or continues to support them at the home of the relation with whom the children are living even though he has set up a new household.

The authors make it clear that there is nothing of family disorganization in this situation, any more than there is anything 'pathological' in the dual system of mating. The range of permitted behaviour in organizing, as in instituting, the family is simply wider than in other societies. They claim that the family in Toco successfully performs the task allotted to it—the propagation and rearing of the young. They go on to make the interesting suggestion that the Tocoan household is based on retention of the nucleus of African kinship structures, i.e. a mother and children living in a hut within her husband's compound, also inhabited by her co-wives and their children. The evolution of this nuclear unit into such households as those headed, in a case cited, by an elderly woman, where her grown daughters are still more or less under direction and some of their children entirely given over to her

care, merely represents in one respect the logical development of this African institution under the influence of slavery and of the particular socio-economic position of the Negroes after slavery was abolished.

The book also contains interesting information on the subject of attitudes towards work and categories of employment, as well as on religious rites, magic, and divination. Its authors are to be congratulated on the richness of their field material and on having worked it up in a way which should be useful not only to social scientists but to social administrators engaged, particularly in the British West Indies, in dealing with institutions which are comparable over a wide area with those mentioned above. K. L. LITTLE

Welfare and Planning in the West Indies. By T. S. Simey. O.U.P., 1946. Pp. xii, 267. Price 15s.

174 Social anthropology is as deeply concerned with semi-literate peasantries as with the pre-literates. The British West Indies urgently need social study and its application to the welfare of their societies as a whole. A depressed peasantry, largely descended from African slaves, is increasing in numbers rapidly in spite of malnutrition and high infant mortality. Its field labour does not produce enough, climate seems to promote lassitude, plantations in spite of larger productivity are socially depressing, moral and hygienic standards are low. Plans for betterment are often piecemeal and take too long to buffet their way through the administrative machinery, from which they emerge rather shop-soiled! Firm direction of a co-operative farm system of assured tenancy of state-owned land could be coupled with education for life, rather than for the production of discontented clerks and domestic servants. But neither will do much good unless housing is improved and surplus field labour is directed into other activities. Community-building, in all its difficulty, may probably be more attainable under increased West Indian direction, provided that this is under the control of people who will act as Trustees and will not be haunted by the heritage of *laissez faire*, but will deal with the whole of the people's life. H. J. FLEURE

CORRESPONDENCE

Assam Origins in Relation to Oceania

175 SIR.—In his Presidential Address to Section H of the British Association in 1937, Professor Hutton mentions a tradition common to Kukis and Fijians of a serpent god coiled round the earth, the movements of which are the cause of earthquakes (p. 170), adding that this god appears entirely unknown to the Naga tribes. Shortly after a recent earthquake here, I chanced to be talking about it to some Lhota Nagas, one of whom remarked that they believed earthquakes to be due to two snakes which live coiled round the edge of the earth, an earthquake resulting every time they shift their position. [Cf. Mills, *Lhota Nagas*, p. 172 and note 1.—ED.]

In the same paper (p. 180) Professor Hutton, commenting on the carving of the great log drums of some Naga tribes, says that the crocodile figure-head has apparently disappeared in the forty years since [Mr. S. E. Peal] visited the Naga Hills. Visiting the Konyak Naga country in 1946, I saw a recently made log drum in the men's house of the village of Tamlu with the figure-head in the form of an unmistakable crocodile. The use of a crocodile might be inspired by the gajal of the Brahmaputra, but since this is a beast of no significance whatsoever to the Konyaks, it is far more likely that its use in decoration is inspired by traditional memory.

Stonglands, Shillong, Assam

C. R. STONOR

Antiquities of Santo Domingo. (Cf. MAN, 1946 47; 1947, 47)

176 SIR.—In his very interesting notes Professor Palm gives information about the Cercado de los Indios at San Juan de Maguana. It is of interest that Sir Robert Schomburgk wrote a description of his exploration of the site, then much overgrown, in a letter addressed to the Prince Consort, who sent it as a communication to the Ethnological

Society; it was read at a meeting on 11 December, 1851, and published with sketch-maps in the *Journal of the Ethnological Society*, Vol. III (1854), p. 113.

Fewkes (*Bur. Am. Eth.*, *Ann. Report*, XXV, Washington, 1907, pp. 79–82) describes other plazas, and suggests that possibly the plaza at Maguana was the site of the reception and ceremonial dance given before Bartholomew Columbus by Anacaona. A more recent reference to this monument is by H. W. Kreiger (*Bull. U.S. Nat. Mus.*, Washington, 1931, p. 46), who mentions a similar construction at Chacuey, and gives details of the Cercado at S. Juan de Maguana as he saw it after the American occupation. Describing the track as like a gigantic racecourse, he says, 'It has been carefully preserved by the Dominican Government,' and mentions a motor road which makes access to the site comparatively easy. The considerable amount of canoe-borne trade in the pre-Columbian Caribbean, which may have included the carriage of rubber to Santo Domingo (Oviedo mentions the process of mixing materials to produce the Batey ball, but neither *Hevea brasiliensis* nor *Castilloa elastica* were natives of the Greater Antilles), would probably have brought with it the idea of stone-lined plazas, which are common objects from Mexico to Venezuela, including the great trading emporia in the Bay Islands.

I personally believe that the natives seen by Columbus were fully capable of building the *cercado*. The central stone, the only worked one on the site, was well within the ability of Tainan artists: the pavement was of water-rounded boulders. The natives were well organized under their caciques, and their technology included the ability to mix a special bitumen for repoussé work (Chanca in Hakluyt Soc., Ser. II, Vol. 65, London, 1929, pp. 56f.) Although simple folk, they were by no means primitive savages. C. A. BURLAND



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Modern African Art in East Africa

(with Plate A and other illustrations)

Mrs. K. M. Trowell

Recherches et Musées d'Ethnographie Française depuis 1939

Professor G. H. Rivière

The Conception of an *Oikoumené* in Ethnology :

A Note to Professor Kroeber's Huxley Memorial Lecture

Sir John Myres

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BY

SIR JOHN MYRES, O.B.E., M.A., D.Sc., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A.

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IMPORTANT NOTICE

International Congresses, 1947-8

As announced in a note distributed with copies of the March issue of MAN, the meeting of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences which was to be held at Prague in early August of this year has been cancelled by the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education, and no meeting will now be possible in 1947. It is understood that the Officers of the Congress are hoping to arrange a meeting at another centre during 1948.

The XXVIII International Congress of Americanists was arranged for late August of this year at Paris, to follow closely upon the Anthropological Congress at Prague. The Hon. Editor of MAN now learns from Dr. Henri Lehmann, Joint Secretary of the Congress (Musée de l'Homme, Place du Trocadéro, Paris 16^e), that cancellation of the Prague Congress will not affect the Paris Congress, which will be held on the dates already announced—24-30 August, 1947.

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(with Plate E and illustration in text)

Professor Raymond Firth

Choice of the Unit of Measurement in Anthropometry

Miss M. L. Tildesley

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MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IN JUNE

All on Tuesdays at 5.30 p.m. at the Institute

- June 3. *The Santals of Western Bengal.* The Rev. W. J. Culshaw
 June 10. *Shamanism in the Nuba Mountains.* Dr. S. F. Nadel
 (Joint meeting with International African Institute)
 June 17. *Palaeolithic Man North of the Trent.* A. L. Armstrong
 (Preceded by Extraordinary General Meeting at 5.15 p.m.)
 June 24. Annual General Meeting, with Presidential Address by Professor H. J. Fleure

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Prehistory of Trinidad in Relation to Adjacent Areas
(with Plate G and other illustrations)

Professor Irving Rouse

**The Study and Preservation of the Ancient Lapp Culture:
Sweden's Contribution since 1939**

Ernst Manker

Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute

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ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

SPECIAL MEETING

Tuesday, 8th July, 1947, at 5.30 p.m., at the Institute

The Indian Communities of Guatemala

ANTONIO GOUBAUD CARRERA, M.A.

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

A Lecturer in Anthropology will be appointed from 1 January, 1948. Initial stipend £250 with allowance of £250 to non-Fellows, £50 allowance for each dependent child, together with possible additional payments for extra teaching and a non-pensionable bonus addition. Further particulars can be obtained from Dr. G. E. Daniel, St. John's College, Cambridge, to whom eight copies of applications and evidences of qualifications should be sent by 20 September, 1947.

MAN

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Two Woodcarvings from the Baga of French Guinea
(with Plate H)

William Fagg

A 360-Day Count in a Mexican Codex

C. A. Burland

The Rules of Relationship Behaviour in One Variety
of Primitive Warfare

R. F. Fortune

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UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

APPLICATIONS are invited for the post of READER in ANTHROPOLOGY in the Department of Geography in the Newcastle Division of the University. Salary £1000 a year, rising to £1100 a year from 1 August, 1948, with superannuation (F.S.S.U.), and family allowance. Further particulars may be obtained from the undersigned with whom twelve copies of applications, including the names of three referees, should be lodged not later than 15 September, 1947. Candidates who are overseas may submit applications by cable.

W. S. ANGUS, University Office, 46, North Bailey, Durham.

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IMPORTANT NOTICE

With reference to the First Circular of the Congress, published in MAN for August (1947, 125), the Hon. Editor now learns that the dates have been fixed as follows: the Congress will open on 15 August, 1948, and close on 23 August, and will be followed by excursions, 24-28 August. A Second Circular is now being prepared in greater detail.

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SPECIAL MEETING

Tuesday, Sept. 16th, 1947, at 5 p.m. at the Institute

Culture Strata in the Deccan (with film)

PROFESSOR C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, PH.D.

MAN

A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science

Malay Influence on Aboriginal Totemism in Northern Australia
(with Plate J and text illustration)

Frederick Rose

Head-Deformation in the Near East

Margaret Hasluck

On the Value of Iron among the Nuer

P. P. Howell

Shorter Notes

Reviews

Correspondence

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MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IN OCTOBER

On Tuesdays at 5 p.m. at the Institute

- October 7. *A Report on the XXVIIIth International Congress of Americanists (Paris, August 1947).*
A. Digby and Dr. G. H. S. Bushnell.
- October 21. It is hoped that Professor Cheng Te-Kún, curator of the University Museum, West China University, Chengtu, will deliver an address.

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A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science

The Physical Anthropology of the West Saharan Nomads
(with Plate K and text illustration)
Professor Santiago Alcobé

Early Foreign Trade in East Africa
(illustrated)
G. A. Wainwright

Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute
The Karen People
Saw Tha Din

Shorter Note

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On Tuesdays at 5 p.m. at the Institute

- November 4. *Trading and the Exchange of Goods in Manam Island, New Guinea.* The Hon. Camilla Wedgwood.
November 18. *The Ba-Ila Revisited.* The Rev. E. W. Smith, D.D.
November 25. Huxley Memorial Lecture, at the Royal Society, Burlington House, W.1: *Some Complexities of Human Structure (illustrated).* W. L. H. Duckworth, M.A., M.D., D.Sc.

MAN

A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science

A Bolas-and-Hoop Game in East Africa

(With text illustration)

Dr. H. S. Harrison

The Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, 1947: A General Report

(with Plate L and text illustrations)

Bernard Fagg

Reviews

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On Tuesdays at 5 p.m. at the Institute

- December 2. *The "Unwritten Literature" of the Igbo People of Nigeria* (with gramophone illustrations).
Miss M. M. Green, M. A.
December 16. *Communications and History*. Dr. F. Hepner.

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